

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 22

April 20-26, 1977

40 Cents

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

U.S. multinationals make labor put on its fighting shoes

Next to the extension of slavery, it was the main issue that divided the North and the South before the Civil War. In the last decade of the 20th century, it may be the main issue that divides capital and labor.

In the next year, it will probably be the main issue that divides Carter and labor.

The issue is that of free trade versus protectionism: in present terms, whether the U.S. should make the elimination of all trade barriers its first priority or whether it should pass tariffs or impose quotas to protect the jobs of American workers that might be lost from rising foreign imports.

Last week, thousands of garment workers demonstrated around the country to demand import controls on foreign garments and textiles, whose share of the American market has risen from four to 35 percent in the last ten years. According to union officials, these rising imports have cost American workers 145,000 jobs.

Prior to that, labor leaders had vigorously protested President Jimmy Carter's refusal to go along with the International Trade Commission's recommendation that import quotas and tariffs be imposed on rising shoe imports. Here, it is estimated that 70,000 jobs have been lost since 1968.

In the months to come, Carter will be faced with demands for import controls on color TVs, steel and rubber products. Indications are that he will go to great lengths to avoid acceding to these demands.

► Preventing economic chaos.

In the past, American labor and industry usually agreed on trade questions. Beginning in the early 19th century, they united in support of tariffs that they saw as necessary to protect infant American industries from foreign competition. Then, after World War II, with American industry the most advanced in the world, they turned to free trade as essential for American growth.

American labor leaders and industrialists shared a similar rationale for promoting free trade. Looking back at the 1930s depression, both saw in the Hoover and early Roosevelt trade policies a prime cause of the continuing depression.

As they saw it, the highly protectionist 1930 tariff and the American refusal to participate in the World Economic Conference in 1933 had prompted the Europeans and Japanese to revert to exclusive trading blocs. As a result, America's exports and imports plummeted to pre-1910 levels; the American share of world trade was cut in half; and for the first seven years of the depression, the U.S. had a negative balance of trade.

Both capital and labor believed that postwar policy must aim to prevent trading blocs and to eliminate all tariffs and quotas. Within such a "free" world market, American goods would hold a competitive edge, and exports would rise.

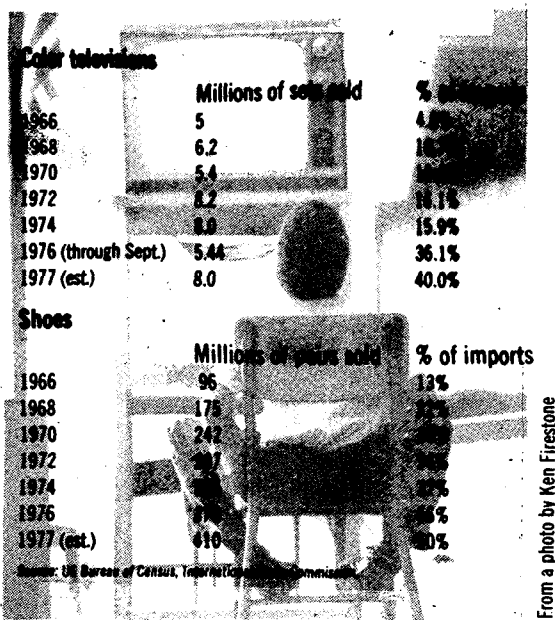
Rising exports would provide needed security against another depression. "Foreign trade," as a UAW statement put it, "can be the margin between a drop into economic chaos and a steadily expanding economy."

While some segments of labor and industry still insisted on special protection, the development of the European Common Market convinced even the diehards that the U.S. would have to make free trade its first priority. In 1962 Congress passed the Kennedy administration's Trade Expansion Act, which granted the executive authority to reach multi-nation agreements on lowered tariffs.

► Labor and the multinationals.

But between 1962 and 1970, a sharp turnabout occurred, which led to labor support for the protectionist Mills trade bill in 1970 and opposition to Nixon's Trade Expansion Act in 1974. While labor has by no means abandoned its support for free trade, it has come to insist on protection for industries jeopardized by free trade policies rather than simply on compensation for workers whose jobs were lost.

This edition published April 20, 1977, for newsstand sales April 20-26.



Three things have shaken labor's confidence in free trade. The first is the ability, largely unforeseen in 1962, of European and Japanese firms to compete successfully with American firms in such highly touted American fields as steel, auto, and electronics.

The second is the rise of the multinational corporations. In the AFL-CIO's *Federationist*, Elizabeth R. Jager put it this way: "...in the 1950s, the United States exported mostly products; in the 1960s, it exported standard auto and machinery factories; in the 1970s, it has been exporting factories with its newest technology..."

American firms have gone multinational largely in search of lower wage costs. The president of Zenith, the last American electronics firm to go overseas for its component production, explained that the same TV that costs \$56 in labor to build in the U.S. costs \$4.50 in Taiwan. A shoe manufacturer who moved his plant to Europe gave the House Ways and Means Committee a similar explanation: "The labor where I am now making shoes is 50 cents an hour as compared to the \$3 I was paying."

The AFL-CIO estimates that as many as 900,000 American workers lost their jobs between 1966 and 1971 as a result of multinational expansion. In addition, these multinationals end up competing, on favorable terms, with domestically produced products. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that 25 percent of American imports in 1970 were from American multinationals.

Many of the rest, labor argues, were from European or Japanese multinationals that have also striven to take advantage of the repressive governments and unorganized workers in such countries as Brazil, Taiwan, Malaysia, and South Korea.

From labor's standpoint, this role of the multinational subverts the function of free trade. No longer is it possible to argue that free trade merely weeds out the less efficient firms that cannot compete with the better organized and more technologically advanced ones. With multinationals, free trade tends to weed out organized workers who have won higher standards of living.

As a result, labor has moved both to place restrictions in the path of American corporations that want to relocate overseas and to put import controls against goods produced by American and foreign multinationals.

Finally, the third factor that changed labor's view has been the world recession. With unemployment in the U.S. over 8 percent, the special compensation given to workers displaced by imports becomes, in many cases, merely a prelude to welfare. This has hap-

pened, for instance, to Puerto Rican garment workers in New York, displaced by foreign imports.

► Fear of a trade war.

But the same circumstances that have impelled American labor to oppose unlimited free trade have made corporate leaders and their political allies all the more adamant in its defense.

This is clearly the case with the growth of multinationals. The multinationals have a stake in preventing any import restrictions on their products. In the 1974 Nixon trade bill, a special provision was introduced for their benefit allowing the elimination of all duties on goods from Third World countries.

With Japanese and German investors vying for favors, they also are concerned that American trade policies not alienate their host countries. It was probably this consideration that prompted Carter to leave out Brazil from the countries he planned to discuss shoe import quotas with.

The world recession, combined with growing competition from West Germany and Japan, has meanwhile raised among corporate leaders the spectre of a new trade war. They see the threat of a return to the 30s in the recent European moves against Japanese ballbearings, steel, and shipbuilding, in Canada's recently imposed quotas on textiles, and perhaps worst of all in the recently successful attempt to get the U.S. Customs Court to declare countervailing duties against Japanese TV imports that owe their low price to government tax rebates.

"I am afraid events are pretty close to getting out of control," Robert A. Best, the former chief economist for the Senate Finance Committee, told *Business Week*. *Business Week* added its own note of alarm: "...a slump back into the bog of protectionism today could strike a more telling blow to the world economy than it did between the wars because of the much more integrated structure of the international economy and the increased national dependence on trade."

From this perspective, corporate leaders see any step toward tariffs or formal quotas as a dangerous precedent that could justify further action. Therefore, they advocate private agreements, where necessary, between the U.S. and other countries, and increased technical and financial aid to embattled American industries.

► Over the long haul.

In this respect, as in others, Carter is the representative of America's most class-conscious corporate leadership rather than of the labor or minority voters who elected him. To the key Treasury posts of Secretary and Assistant Secretary he appointed two veteran free traders, W. Michael Blumenthal of the Bendix Corporation and C. Fred Bergsten, formerly an economist with the Brookings Institute and recently author of an article in *Foreign Policy* entitled "Let's Avoid a Trade War."

In his decision to reject quotas and a tariff on shoe imports, Carter spelled out his position: "I'm very reluctant to restrict international trade in any way. For 40 years, the U.S. has worked for the reduction of trade barriers around the world, and we are continuing to pursue this goal because it's the surest long-range way to create jobs here and abroad."

Carter did promise to attempt to reach private agreements with Taiwan and South Korea to limit their exports—a promise made in the face of a possible congressional override of his recommendation. But he insisted that "over the long haul" the only solution to the American shoe industry's difficulties lay the modernization of its factories.

That, and the reintroduction of child labor.

(To be continued.)

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, IL.

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Printed at Merrill, Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

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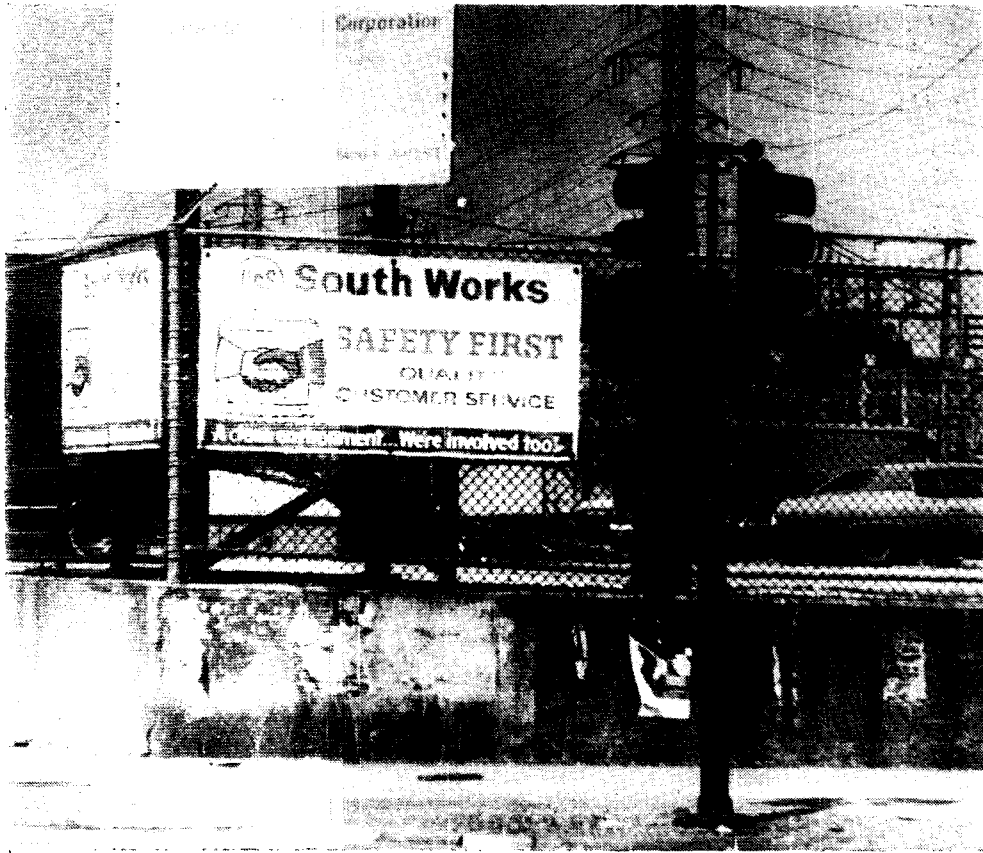
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IN THE NATION

LABOR

Troubled settlement in steel



Jane Melnick

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Local union presidents narrowly approved a moderate new contract between the Steelworkers union and the ten largest steel companies on April 2.

The contract provided extended protection against layoffs and plant closings for workers with 20 or more years of seniority but no new breakthrough in job security. There were modest monetary gains and improvements in benefits, close to the total cost of the Autoworkers' contract last fall. Although there were some new restrictions on management power on the shop floor, there was little progress on the most important issues immediately related to working conditions. In a few areas, the union lost ground on benefits and restrictions on management prerogatives.

There is enough hard-core dissatisfaction among certain groups and on some controversial issues that many local negotiations may break out in strikes at the end of the contract on August 1, if the international union grants authorization. Under the Experimental Negotiating

Agreement (ENA), all issues not settled by March 31 were to be sent to arbitration. National strikes were prohibited. Negotiators extended talks, but several hundred local union presidents headed home for Easter weekend. When the steel bargaining council received the terms at the Saturday morning meeting, they took a standing vote on the contract. It was voted down 148 to 143, the first contract rejection by local presidents that anyone could remember.

►National leadership shocked.

According to one participant's description, the national leadership appeared shocked and confused. There was a request for a roll-call vote. "Then there was some arm-twisting. Directors [of districts] kept their eyes on people for the second vote. [Retiring president I.W.] Abel gave a real sorrowful speech. Some people decided not to make waves. When it came down to putting it on the record, a lot of backs turned to jelly," he said. The contract was approved on the roll-call vote by 193 to 99.

Abel told the body that all of the na-
(Continued on page 20.)

Atlanta strike splits liberal coalition

By Raoul Sinclair

Atlanta. Two movements have allied progressive elements in the South since turn-of-the-century Populism: civil rights and unionization of Southern workers. Common needs and common demands saw blacks and labor backing each other's movements and marches throughout the years. That alliance seems to have come unglued here in the wake of a confused and disastrous strike by nearly 1,000 municipal workers. The disintegration of the alliance was most apparent when black Mayor Maynard Jackson, beneficiary of massive labor support in his campaign to become the first black mayor of a major Southern city in 1973, fired 915 striking members of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees on March 28.

The upshot has been a broad and bitter division within Atlanta's black community between those who support Jackson and those who feel he now represents a worrisome new form of politico: sprung from the movement, espousing pro-working class positions, but as insensitive to the needs of the city's poor and black as his white predecessors. This new wrinkle in the dynamic of race, politics and economics is so filled with confusion that the AFSCME strike has yet to receive more than token support from other area unions and is being totally ignored by the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, whose founder, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., died fighting for the AFSCME cause in Memphis nine years ago this month.

►Jackson changed sides.

Adding to the irony is the fact that in the last AFSCME strike in 1970 Jackson marched with the strikers and, as vice mayor, constantly hammered at the city's refusal to grant pay raises and give the union a dues check-off.

Now, seven months later, the unions, whose members average \$3.55 an hour, asked for a 50 cent per hour raise and found their former marching ally behaving exactly as his predecessor, Sam Massell. One popular chant at marches and mass meetings goes: "I smell a Massell."

Jackson and the city argue that the

Perhaps the thing that hurts the most is a comment made by "Daddy" King. When asked what the city should do, he replied: "Fire the hell out of them."

union waited till too late to ask for a raise, just three weeks before a March 31 deadline after which the 1977-78 city budget is locked into place by a provision of the city charter, and that there just is not enough money.

AFSCME responds that the deadline is a paper tiger that has been ignored in the past. They also point out that the city has had a cash surplus for each of the past four years and that the 1976 carry-over was \$9.3 million, almost double the cost of the requested pay hike.

►A troublesome ad campaign.

Contributing to the ill-feelings all around has been a national advertizing campaign from the national offices of AFSCME, the ads began to run last month in the *New York Times*, *Commentary*, *The New Republic* and local press and radio and blame Jackson for the inefficiency, financial mismanagement and favoritism that have troubled his regime.

The ad campaign could not have come at a worse time for the strikers, as it irritated the notoriously chauvinistic Atlanta mentality and robbed a good bit of sympathetic support in the community at large. The Jacksonian ego was stung by the media villification and, stopping the ad campaign, if only on a local basis, became one of the city's demands in the on-again, off-again negotiating sessions with AFSCME.

Although the local union denies any connection to the campaign, it stretches credulity to the snapping point to believe the national did not check with its local leadership before throwing the hot poker of the ads before a national readership.

►Strike faltering.

Latest estimates show that only half of the fired AFSCME workers are still out. The rest have either gone back to work in the crippled sanitation, water and streets departments or have been forced

to find jobs elsewhere. National strike funds have been able to provide only \$25 to \$35 a week for each worker.

One thing is clear about the Atlanta strike: if it was a planned, strategic application of work stoppage to convince the city of just wage demands, it was an abject failure, resulting in the loss of jobs to hundreds, a badly damaged union position, little public support and the flocking of the white power structure to Jackson's defense.

►Rank and file pushed strike vote.

It becomes a little more understandable if one heeds the AFSCME side of things: that the strike mushroomed up out of the rank and file and that the leadership had no direct role in calling for the walk-out. "The membership overwhelmingly voted to walk on this one because they saw nothing but betrayal from city hall," says Jim Gray, AFSCME spokesman. "It was really spontaneous."

That would indeed explain the failure of AFSCME to lay proper groundwork for a mass strike: linkages with other unions, mobilization of civil rights groups that had sided with the workers in 1970 and a more complete explanation to the public of the issues involved. As it evolved the strike took Atlanta almost completely by surprise and seemed to be a last minute fit of directionless anger.

As a sidelight, the strike came in the final days of the election to replace former Congressman, now UN ambassador Andrew Young and was a minor and wholly irrelevant campaign issue. John Lewis, director of the Voter Education Project, was in an April 5 run-off with City Council president Wyche Fowler. Lewis was moderately supportive of the strike and Fowler flat against it. An aide to Fowler, who won by a landslide, admitted the strike may have added five percentage points to the victory.

►Haven't overcome yet.

On April 11, a rally was held on the steps of city hall. The crowd numbered about 300, but included more supporters than strikers. Speaker after speaker accused Jackson of deserting the people who put him in the mayor's chair and of being no better than the repressive white politicians and power brokers of the past.

James Farmer, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality, now representing a coalition of public employees and teachers, recalled the civil rights workers who fought and died so black people could vote and blacks elected to office. "Thirty years ago workers would strike and be fired, but who would ever have dreamed that I'd see a day when a black mayor would fire his brothers. Is this what we fought for? Is this what they died for? When will you (looking to the second floor mayor's office) come home? We haven't overcome yet."

►"Daddy" King gets mad.

On April 4, date of the assassination of Dr. King, AFSCME strikers and supporters had gathered at the tomb of the slain leader to march through downtown. King's father, Rev. Martin (Daddy) King Sr., was outraged. Who, he demanded of AFSCME area representative Leamon Hood, gave permission for such an assembly? A reporter on hand for the confrontation says Hood just turned slowly and looked at King's tomb.

At present the strike is moribund. Hiring of new workers and rehiring of former strikers began one week after the walk-out and the city now claims 80 percent for workers to reapply for their old jobs with priority, seniority and absence of a six month trial period. AFSCME is crippled and Mayor Jackson, despite the heavy-handed "union busting" is more secure politically than at any time since his administration began.

Perhaps the thing that hurts most in the Atlanta affair is a comment made by "Daddy" King, whose son was killed fighting for men exactly like these. At a press conference the elder King, flanked by the barons of Atlanta business, was asked what should be done about the strike. He replied: "Fire the hell out of them."

Raoul Sinclair is a writer living in Atlanta.

WOMEN

Little progress on the ERA



Jane Meimick

Despite a slowdown in ratification by states, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution remain convinced that it will pass before the March 22, 1979, deadline. The proposed 27th amendment, which reads "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," has passed in 35 of the necessary 38 states.

The Florida State Senate defeated the ERA April 13. In response NOW is calling on organizations that support ERA to use "economic sanctions" against Florida by holding their conventions elsewhere. A similar boycott of Nevada was initiated after that state turned down ERA and NOW claims over 20 conventions relocated and that many California ERA supporters are refusing to gamble in that state.

In the other two states likely to con-

sider the ERA this year, South Carolina and Illinois, the outcome is uncertain. "We're very hopeful about South Carolina, but it's going to be close in both houses," says Melissa Thompson, NOW's legislative coordinator.

In Illinois Senate sponsors are hoping for a vote by the end of May, says Sue Croteau of ERA Illinois. The ERA, which has been defeated repeatedly in the Illinois Senate, is expected to pass the House easily once enough Senate votes are mustered.

In spite of polls showing a majority of Americans support the amendment, and efforts by figures such as Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter and AFL-CIO president George Meany to push it, the ratification process is going slowly. Indiana's passage in January was the first since March 1975.

One factor has been a well-organized right-wing campaign to discredit the

"We are going to make sure they learn they can't play games with women. If we have to turn over half a legislature in four years, we'll do it."

amendment. Phyllis Schlafly, head of Stop ERA, says, "Momentum against the amendment is growing all the time." Her efforts have been aided by a mail blitz by the Conservative Caucus, which sent 88,000 letters to North Carolina voters urging them to tell their legislators to defeat the ERA, which the North Carolina Senate proceeded to do.

One hundred fifty thousand such letters also went out in Florida. Caucus' head Howard Phillips says money to pay for the mailing comes from direct mail solicitation. ERA supporters suspect, however, that the effort to stop the amendment has corporate bankrollers, particularly in the insurance industry. Discriminatory practices from hiring and promotion to premium schedules could be affected by the ERA's passage.

Three states—Idaho, Nebraska and Tennessee—that earlier ratified the ERA have voted to rescind it. Ruth Bader Ginsburg, professor of constitutional law at Columbia University, doubts that the rescissions will count, although a court fight waged by ERA's opponents could leave the matter in doubt for some time after the 38th ratification. She points out that states tried to rescind after they had voted for the 14th, 15th and 19th amendments, but their votes were still counted as "yes"

votes by Congress.

Florida's defeat means that ERA proponents will be gearing up for 1978 state legislature elections.

"We're going to have a hard-hitting election strategy," says Melissa Thompson. "We proved we could do it in Indiana." In Indiana, pro-ERA forces targeted anti-ERA legislators for defeat last November, and success in that effort, supporters say, led to the amendment's passage in January.

Speaking of legislators in Nevada and North Carolina who ran as pro-ERA candidates and then voted no, Thompson says, "We're going to make sure they learn they can't play games with women. If we have to turn over half a legislature in four years, we'll do it."

After the '78 elections, it will be a tricky process to get state legislatures to vote before the March 22 deadline in '79. But ERA supporters are generally confident. "We'll be there. We can't give up because we've had a few setbacks," says ERAmerica's Mariwyn Heath.

"The opposition is forcing our members to become very politically astute and active," says Thompson, "and we're going to use the lessons we're learning to our best advantage."

—Judy MacLean

Fire won't drive out Minnesota abortion clinic

On St. Paul's Ford Parkway, between a Burger King and a carwash, stands a building opponents of a woman's right to choose abortion have made into a battleground. Until Feb. 23, the three-story structure held the state headquarters of the Planned Parenthood Association of Minnesota and a clinic that, among other things, provided contraceptive counseling and first trimester abortions. On that date arsonists set fire to the building's top floor; smoke and water damaged the other two.

"We are a target for people who oppose abortion, family planning and family life education generally," says Tom Weber, executive director of the association.

Harassment is not new. The building was vandalized repeatedly before it opened last October. Windows were broken with rocks and bullets, the building was spray-painted and locks were glued shut. After the fire, the building was burglarized April 7 and cash and office machines were stolen. Planned Parenthood board members and their children's lives have also been threatened.

Not all the harassment has been clandestine. Citizens for Community Action (CCA), a group that claims to represent the neighborhood, has picketed the center daily since before it opened. The group is also suing the city to have the center's building permit revoked.

Another group, composed mainly of high school students, holds prayer vigils in front of the building on Saturdays. Another statewide group rented a billboard across the street that has a new anti-abortion message each month.

Citizens for Community Action spokesman John Healy says the group wants Planned Parenthood out of the neighborhood. "They are undermining the parent's obligation to assist his (sic) 14 or 15 year old daughter in making important decisions about her life," he says, referring to the clinic's policy of making con-

traceptive and abortion counseling services available to young women without parental consent. Healy denies that his group has anything to do with the violence and threats of violence Planned Parenthood has faced.

"But they are creating a climate that leads to violence," says Jean Druker, head of Concerned Neighbors Coalition, a community group that formed in support of Planned Parenthood. Druker believes most of her community supports the center's presence, and charges that most of CCA's members come from outside the neighborhood, some from outside the city.

The St. Paul vandals are well-organized; police and fire department investigations have turned up no suspects. The organizations opposing the center are well-financed; CCA's building-permit suit will cost at least \$20,000. It all smacks of far right organizations behind the scenes, and many suspect they are involved, although there is no proof.

Druker believes the fight around the center is the "last gasp" of the opponents of abortion. "When they lose this battle, they've lost the whole ballgame," she says.

Weber and the center's supporters are determined that abortion foes will lose the battle. "Not one patient has been denied care because of the fire," he says. Although the Ford Parkway clinic is closed, patients are being served at several other Planned Parenthood centers in St. Paul.

"We'll continue to make our voice heard in support and we'll do whatever is necessary," says Druker, whose group is not deterred by threats on the lives of children by a movement that likes to call itself "pro-life." "We'll even provide escort service for young women who want to visit the clinic when it reopens," she says.

—Judy MacLean

HOUSING

Rent control under fire in New York Assembly

By Joel Blau

Unless the New York State Assembly acts before June, 500,000 families in New York City and its suburbs may face sizeable rent increases. At stake is the Emergency Tenant Protection Act, currently stalled in the Housing committee of the Republican dominated state senate.

The ETPA is the latest of a long series of rent control or stabilization measures in the New York City area, which began with the state's institutionalization in 1947 of federal wartime rent controls. In 1971 the rent control provisions were modified with the passage of the Vacancy Decontrol Law, which provided that rent control apartments—those that received their certificate of occupancy before 1947—would be placed on the open market as they became vacant. Pushed by a two percent annual vacancy rate, rents quickly skyrocketed.

By 1974 the situation had gotten so out of hand that the legislature was forced to pass ETPA in order to put these apartments under a two-year rent stabilization program which guarantees annual rent increases. This was extended for another year last June. The bill now in the Assembly would extend it through 1980.

Since ETPA guarantees annual rent increases, many tenant activists do not particularly like fighting for it. They would prefer a statewide rent bill, much more thorough and extensive than ETPA. Such a bill has been drafted by the New York State Tenant and Neighborhood Coalition and was introduced in the 1976 session with significant legislative support. But this bill, which puts the burden for rent increases squarely on the landlord, has not been reintroduced this session. Its supporters say that the atmosphere in Albany has changed, drastically reducing the prospects for advance in housing matters. Indeed, the state's real estate interests

have very successfully tied New York city's fiscal crisis to housing abandonment and the diminishing profitability of urban real estate. This has paved the way not only for a possible watering down of ETPA and the New York city rent control provisions, but to a rollback of a wide range of housing and rent control regulations around the state; something the real estate lobby has been working to get for some time.

The Republicans in the state Assembly would also like to see a rollback of regulations, but they have a problem. They have a New York city mayoral candidate, state senator Roy Goodman, whose chances on a joint Republican/Liberal ticket are pretty good if he is not too severely compromised by the anti-tenant actions of his party.

Warren Anderson, majority leader of the state senate, has already tried to shield Goodman from tenant pressure by removing him from chairmanship of the Senate Housing committee, a position he held last year. But this may not be enough and the Republicans may still have to pass ETPA.

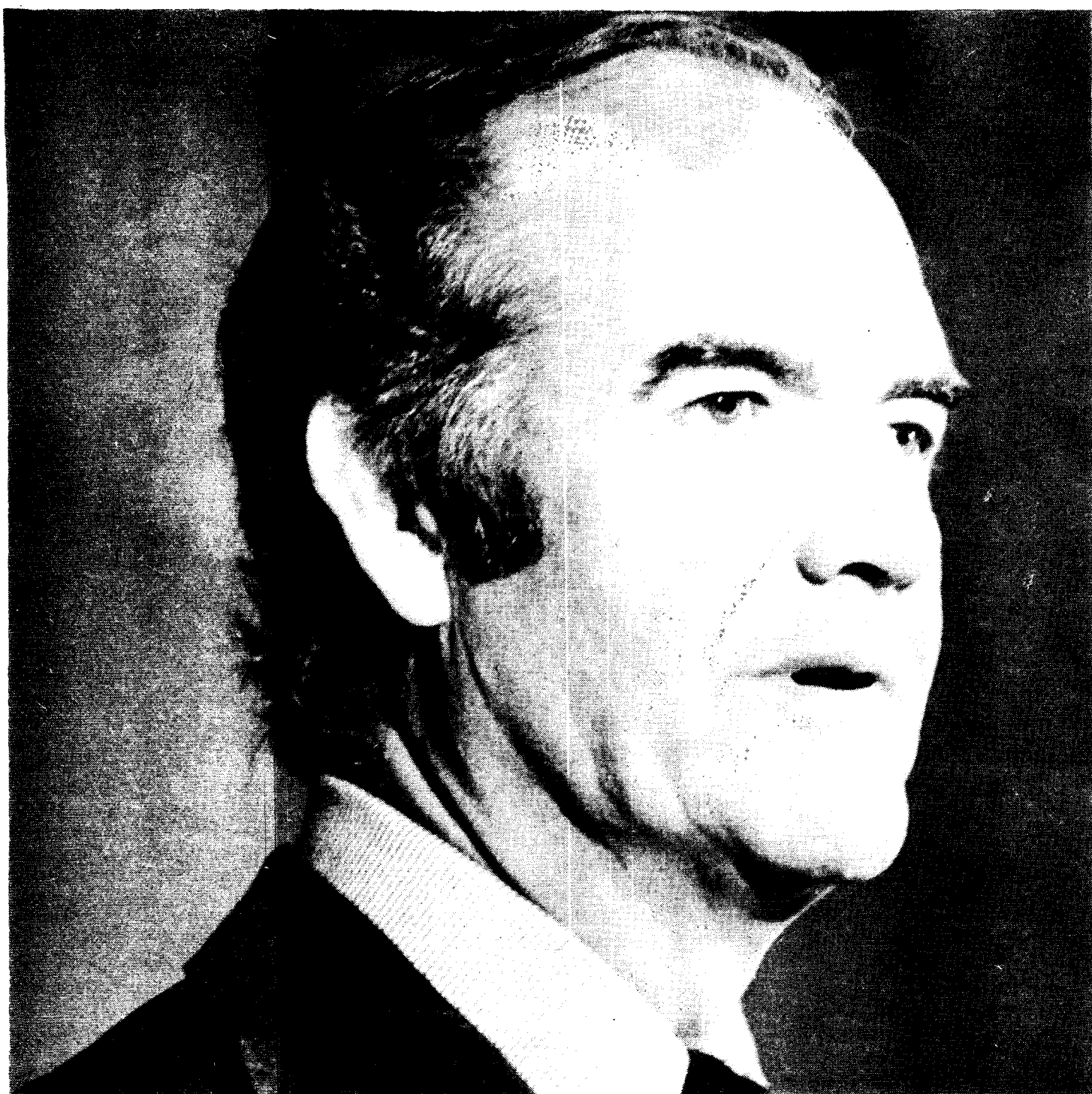
If they do pass ETPA, the seriousness of Goodman's candidacy may prevent them from watering it down too much.

Nevertheless, they will want something from the Democratic leadership, and the something that they are most likely to want is the end of the state's rent control law, which covers 67,000 units in Albany, Buffalo, and suburban Nassau and Westchester Counties.

This is the kind of deal that has frequently characterized the closing sessions of the New York state legislature. Tenants' rights organizations are gearing up in hopes of preventing such a deal.

Joel Blau is a community organizer who lives in New York City and is a member of the New American Movement.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW



Al Di Franco

George McGovern: master of ideological brinksmanship

By Bob Eisenberg and Evan Hendricks

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) has taken the lead in trying to reestablish relations between the U.S. and Cuba over the last couple of years. First visiting Cuba in 1975, McGovern recently returned as part of a 90-person delegation, including a basketball team composed of players from South Dakota universities that played (and lost) two games with the top Cuban team.

McGovern recently gave *IN THESE TIMES* an exclusive interview in which he talked about his experiences in Cuba and his attitude toward a wide range of domestic issues.

"The Cubans are providing a pace-setting example for the rest of Latin America in the area of social services. They have high-quality free universal education and health care systems," McGovern said. He attributed the unquestionable increase in Cuban living standards to "the motivation of its leadership," which is "geared to improving the lot of the ordinary citizen. The average Cuban farmer is better off today both socially and economically than ever before."

When asked if he would favor the development of other nations along the lines of the Cuban model, the Senator responded, "It would be an improvement over the economies of any number of countries in the area."

►Basic change required.

McGovern does not believe that most Latin American countries are capable of instituting meaningful reforms without a basic restructuring of their political and economic systems. "The economies in lands like Chile, Argentina, and Brazil are in the hands of the wealthy who do not have the

social motivation that the Cuban leadership does in assisting their people. Far from serving the interests of the ordinary citizen, these governments cater to the rich and powerful. Their best agricultural land is held by a very tiny percentage of the people; their tax structures are undemocratic—loaded to benefit the rich."

Many of these regimes are also deeply indebted to Western governments and lending institutions. Noting that 71 underdeveloped countries owe over \$150 billion, McGovern stated bluntly that "these nations do not have the long-term ability to amortize these debts." He indicated that the only aid the West could offer these countries to alleviate the debts is a re-scheduling of loans.

"I don't know if there is an awful lot more we can do. You have to understand that the major part of the problem lies in the nature of the societies with which we are dealing. The Cubans didn't achieve these revolutionary reforms because of U.S. assistance—they did it themselves. I think it's quite possible for a country to turn things around in a hurry if it is willing to go through an internal revolution."

One obstacle he noted was that "we tend to view these countries as the 'hewers of wood and the drawers of water.' They provide the low-cost materials and we provide the high cost manufactured goods."

Later, commenting about the current high price of coffee, McGovern said, "I personally think it is good that the coffee-producing countries are getting a little more for their product. But I'd feel more acceptable to the idea if I thought that the society in which the coffee is being produced were distributing the benefits more evenly."

►Corporate needs over consumer needs.

In another area McGovern made headlines recently with the release of his Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs report, "Dietary Goals for the United States." The report recommended that the public substantially reduce its consumption of sugar, meat, fat, and processed grains. (see *ITT*, March 16)

McGovern believes that "the food industry is the most unconscionable example" of corporate needs taking priority over the needs of the consumer. "The evidence is overwhelming that a bad diet is contributing to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Americans every year."

The committee was under intense pressure from food industry lobbyists to modify the contents of the report, he says. "They all have their coterie of experts who come in and tell you that a big fat steak is great for you and that Coca-Cola is refreshing."

"Fortunately," he adds, "the public's consensus is forming in another direction."

The report was not as radical as agribusiness spokesmen would lead us to believe. Although it pinpointed over-processing of food and corporate advertising practices as basic causes for the poor diets that lead to manifold health problems, it refrained from issuing proposals that would directly infringe upon company profits.

McGovern frankly admitted that his committee's proposals cannot compete with the massive media expenditures of the food industry giants. "Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent to encourage people to eat more sugared cereal, more Twinkies, fats and salts. It's going to be a long, slow process to turn that around."

"I don't see the profit system disappearing in the foreseeable future."

►Profit system here to stay.

The report suggested the implementation of a massive nutrition education campaign through the media, schools and community groups. It encouraged government "jaw-boning" of industry to upgrade the quality of their products. This dialogue between government and business, however, will likely preclude the need for more definitive measures. "The food companies are here to stay," McGovern exclaimed. "I don't see the profit system disappearing in this country in the foreseeable future. I've come to accept it as a permanent pattern."

Despite its moderate approach, many congressional leaders apparently found the report and the committee that spawned it as too progressive. At the end of the year its status will be reduced to that of subcommittee under the Agriculture Committee.

Nevertheless, McGovern is certain that his Nutrition Committee will continue to wield considerable influence. "As long as I'm chairman we can assure that it will continue to commission the kinds of studies that led to this report."

Recognizing that the needs of the public go beyond simple bread-and-butter issues and into the realm of economic decision-making, McGovern aired his support for Tom Hayden's California-based Campaign for Economic Democracy. "Hayden is on sound ground. I certainly would feel a lot easier about American capitalism if sitting on every board of directors of every company were a group of workers and a group of consumers."

"There should be more worker participation and more consumer involvement in the determination of corporate policies."

McGovern indicated that he had considered introducing bills in Congress that would ensure this. "But it's very unlikely that it would get very far in the near future."

►Capitalism partially sick.

Prospects fare better for Congress passing a higher minimum-wage bill before the end of the session. "Carter's proposal [\$2.50] is too low and Congress will change that. I can assure you that in the same year we've raised our own salaries by \$13,000 we're not going to adjourn with a minimum wage increase of 30 cents. That's *peanuts* compared to what it should be. We've got to go to at least \$3.00 an hour."

As for the current state and future prospects for American capitalism, the South Dakota Senator concluded "with eight percent unemployment, inflation running at a high level and much of our production plants idle, I'd say it's partially sick right now." He added with an air of inevitability that there will be more governmental intervention and planning in most sectors of the economy and a markedly broadened base of participatory powers in making major decisions that affect it.

McGovern deserves credit for his humane treatment of issues affecting millions of Americans. He is frank in his assessment of major problems confronting the nation, yet he is curiously piecemeal in his proposed answers. He is aware of the enormous strides in living standards made by certain socialist countries, yet he is unwilling to articulate even the less radical aspects of their economies as possible solutions to be applied within the United States. It is a curious kind of ideological brinksmanship.

Bob Eisenberg and Evan Hendricks are students at Columbia University where McGovern has been teaching a course in "Cold War Politics: 1945-75" about which they write: "He has been quite critical of U.S. Foreign policy towards Cuba, Vietnam, China and Russia. Yet his analyses tend to pit 'Good guys against bad guys' rather than examine the underlying forces behind foreign policy."

LABOR

Texas farmworkers march on Austin

By Glenn Scott and Richard Greene

"It has been too long waiting, being on our knees—it is time to get up."

—Maria Salas, *Marcha Para Justicia*

Austin, Texas. Two months back a group of Texas farmworkers not only got up, but marched. They marched 400 miles from their homes in the Rio Grande Valley to the state capitol in Austin to demand the same justice won by industrial workers in 1935 with passage of the National Labor Relations Act—the right to organize and bargain collectively. A modest demand for a people who have been kept at "the bottom of the social barrel," as Antonio Orendain, director of the Texas Farmworkers Union (TFU), describes it.

Beginning the 36-day trek Feb. 26 in Rio Grande City with 16 campesinos and supporters—men and women, old and young—the fiercely determined marchers chalked up 15 dusty miles a day. One of the original 16, Maria Salas said of the march, "I carry the map of Texas on my feet. Who will carry it with me?" When she and another marcher with blistered feet were slowed up with infected blisters a nurse advised them to leave the march; the two told Orendain that unless the clinic gave them wheelchairs, they would continue to walk on their bleeding feet. They finished the march in wheelchairs.

Along the way the *Marcha Para Justicia* gained support. It received fairly good press coverage from every major and quite a few minor newspapers in the state. A few stalwarts joined the march: a UFW supporter from Salinas, Calif.; a community activist from Albuquerque; a former farmworker from Michigan. One community leader from a little village north of Corpus Christi joined in solidarity for four miles. She was 106 years old.

►All of us together.

Palm Sunday, April 3, over 500 flag-waving, singing, chanting supporters gathered for the final four miles to the steps of the capitol. As one Chicano legislator put it at the rally, "It's great to see us all together—urban Chicanos, rural Chicanos, el Partido (Raza Unida Party), Democrats, labor unions, students—and socialists!"

That jubilant march reminded older supporters of the last farmworker march from South Texas in 1967 following a

wave of strikes throughout the Rio Grande Valley. Strikers, demanding rights that to this day are still denied, marched to Austin, gathering thousands along the way.

Gov. John Connally, with his right hand in the grower's pockets, refused to meet the strikers in Austin and called in the Texas Rangers to establish "order" in the Rio Grande Valley. By bullet, bludgeon and excessive bail bond, order was established and the strikes broken. Six years later a federal court ruled that the Rangers had overstepped their authority and had violated the farmworkers' civil rights. But as the TFWU paper *El Cuhamil* says today: "Justice delayed is justice lost."

►Support for an agriculture labor board.

This year's march was organized by the TFWU, an independent union formed after a split between Orendain and Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO. It was intended as a poor people's lobby to pressure the governor and state legislature for passage of the Texas Agricultural Labor Relations Act (modeled after the California bill), which would give farmworkers legal protection to organize, hold elections and bargain collectively. It also called for repeal of the state's right to work laws.

Believing strongly in pressure from the ground up, TFWU members have few illusions about the possibilities of success through legislative action. Both the labor movement in general and the farmworker movement in particular are relatively weak in Texas, while agribusiness and the growers are strong, with many representatives in the legislature itself.

Texas governor Dolph Briscoe, with corporate holdings worth a conservative \$40 million including some 500,000 acres of land holdings, cannot be considered in the least bit sympathetic.

Nonetheless, progress is being made. This year's *marcha*, TFWU members believe, was an important advance. Gov. Briscoe agreed to meet with the marchers. And the farmworker labor bill received enough legislative backing to be introduced in both houses of the state legislature. The march also led to renewed public attention to the plight of Texas farmworkers and to support groups in major cities.

These advances—tentative though they



"I carry the map of Texas on my feet. Who will carry it with me?"

may be—represent the patient reconstruction of the farmworker movement in the wake of the '66-67 repression. Orendain, his wife Raquel and other veterans of '66—Maria Salas, all her life a campesina, Julio of Mercedes, Jorge Zragoza—and many others began by strengthening the UFW boycott and increasing social services to people of the Valley.

Because undocumented people from Mexico had been used so effectively to break the strikes, they beamed a radio program and distributed a newspaper to both sides of the Rio Bravo stressing the need for workers on both sides to unite to improve conditions.

In the summer of 1975 strikes broke out again—this time in the canteloupe fields. After the wounding of 11 picketers by an Anglo foreman who told reporters he wanted to be sure his melons got to market "even if they had a little Mexican blood on them," 3,000 workers went out on strike. With no strike benefits, 200 families maintained an unbroken strike throughout the summer, living on donated food from friends and support groups in urban areas.

In hopes of carrying the strike into other areas, organizers from the union followed the melon harvest into west Texas. But court and bail costs on trumped up arrests finally broke the effort.

►Legislation no guarantee.

Members are aware that legislation to "protect" the right to organize will be no guarantee. The history of the farmworker struggle has been in large part a history of the law being used against them—because they were Mexican and because they were poor—whether it was legal or not.

The 1975 strike effort, for instance, which began in the Valley and moved north into West Texas, was blocked by "legal protection" (for the growers, that is) at almost every turn: "...when the growers saw the favorable reaction to our movement, they called in the city and county police, the DPS and the border Patrol, and the famous Rangers. Even the FBI put in an appearance," says Orendain.

Nonetheless, the TFWU believes that bringing agricultural workers under an Agriculture Labor Relations Board could mean the difference between some organization—some betterment—and nothing. Orendain wrote recently in *El Cuhamil*, "Agricultural laborers in Texas, because they live with and see the impossibility of self-organization without the legal protection other workers have, find it necessary to point out that lack...if we do not have the laws which others enjoy, then we can never organize ourselves, because it seems that whatever thing we do is an act outside the confines of the law."

TWU members see themselves fighting both for themselves and for those that will come after them. Tomasa Hernandez, one of the original 16 marchers, said, "We are in this march, not only for ourselves, but also for the children. They are still young. If we struggle now, maybe they will not have to live as we did."

If you would like to help, subscribe to El Cuhamil (\$5 per year), P.O. Box 876, San Juan, TX 78589. Contributions are also badly needed (checks may be written to Texas Farmworkers Union at the same address). Letters of solidarity are very welcome.

Glenn Scott and Richard Greene are members of Austin New American Movement.

Massachusetts unionists guilty on explosives charge

By Steve Turner

Unionists Alex Markley and Tony Suares were found guilty of possession and transfer of destructive explosives on March 26 in Springfield, Ma.

In a surprise move Judge Frank Freedman dismissed other charges that the two men conspired with an undercover agent of the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATFB) to blow up scab trucks during a 1975 strike at the Worthington Compressor Co. in nearby Holyoke.

The verdict was ironic. The only violence in the victorious ten-week strike by Local 259 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) occurred when truckers beat up a UE picket.

The judge's dismissal of conspiracy charges prevented the jury from considering the reasons for the ATFB involvement?

The Markley/Suares Defense Committee, widely supported by the area labor movement, believes ATFB was operating

to disrupt the strike and to set up Markley—former president of Local 259 and now a UE organizer—for exploitation as an intelligence source.

The defense Committee contention is supported by the 12-hour interrogation of Markley while he was held incommunicado last July. Questioning covered a broad range of political topics, he says, and was interspersed with ATFB attempts to recruit him as a spy and provocateur in the union. The Defense Committee says that such behavior resembles ATFB involvement in the Wilmington 10 frameup in North Carolina and in other areas.

Judge Freedman's dismissal of conspiracy allegations came before defense witnesses could testify that O'Reilly contacted Markley earlier than he claimed to have done. But the prosecution had already presented evidence on the charge, which formed an irremovable backdrop for the jury's consideration of the explosives questions. The government case of excerpts from phone taps and concealed body microphones that recorded the de-

fendants' fantasies of vengeance against the scab tracking company. These never were realized, but after repeated solicitations—and after the strike was over—Markley and Suares delivered three black-powder devices to O'Reilly.

The "bombs"—which could bring the defendants jail sentences of up to 50 years—are toilet paper tubes containing black powder, sealed with paraffin wax, too weak to destroy even their own casings. Tests by a Harvard University explosives expert rated their blast power equal to a popping paper bag. Their main product was a flash and a cloud of smoke "like something you might set off in a stage play when the devil appears," according to defense attorney Lawrence Shubow.

Prosecution testimony did not contradict this. ATFB agent O'Reilly remarked that "my kids have better firecrackers than these." Ralph Cooper, ATFB "senior expert" in explosives enforcement, admitted that the government has no fixed standards to define illegal explosives, but decides what is illegal primar-

ily on the basis of intended use.

Supporting the defense, Judge Freedman ruled that intent was inadmissible for deciding whether the flash-tubes were illegal. That left it up to the jury to decide whether the devices were "bombs" as the ATFB claimed—and thereby to determine the defendants' legal guilt or innocence.

Defense attorneys are confident the guilty verdict will be overturned in an appeal focused on the explosives question. In the meantime, the trial and its attendant publicity may have put a hitch in larger-scale ATFB labor spying plans. A congressional investigation of ATFB's interest in labor is pending (although the Markley/Suares guilty verdict may delay it. In Massachusetts, few workers are now likely to fall for bombers who want to "help" them.

Markley and Suares will be sentenced April 14; appeal will follow. Both are free on \$10,000 personal recognizance bond.

Steve Turner is a free-lance writer in Massachusetts.

CULTS & CRAZES

Were California Moonies brainwashed?

By Sam Silver and Adi Gevins

San Francisco. "The church is not on trial here," the Honorable S. Lee Vavuris frequently admonished the attorneys as he presided over a landmark hearing in San Francisco Superior Court March 9-24. The open hearing was called to enable five young adult followers of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon to protest their parents' petitions for 30-day temporary conservatorships. Implicit in the parents' request was their desire to take control of their children, all legally adults, and to have their children professionally "deprogrammed" from the influence of Moon's Unification church.

On March 24, Judge Vavuris decided in favor of the parents, carefully avoiding any comments that pertained to the larger constitutional issues, primarily First Amendment rights, that had been raised. He based his ruling on his vision of the sanctity of the family. "We're talking about the very essence of life here; mother, father, and child. This great civilization is made up of many, many great families and that is what is before this court." The Judge continued, "The bond between parent and child remains, even if the parent is 90 and the child is 60."

"That's all very lovely," comments David Fishlow, executive director of the Northern California ACLU, which filed a "friend of the court" brief in support of the Moonies, "except American law is exactly the opposite. There is nothing in our law that says the family is the basis of society, the whole trend of law in this country, both statute law and case law, is that there is a substantial difference between 16 and 60."

Judge Vavuris realized that his decision did not address all the issues at hand, and urged that the matter be brought to the Court of Appeals for review. (See accompanying update.)

►A new defense to conservatorship.

During the past two years California conservatorship laws (Probate Section 1751) and similar legislation in other states have been used on numerous occasions by distraught parents to wrest their adult children from the arms of such new and peculiar religious groups as Moon's Unification church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (Hare Krishna), and Scientology.

The San Francisco case is considered a landmark because it represents the first time the granting of such orders was contingent upon an open hearing at which both sides presented their views. Previous conservatorship orders had been granted *ex parte* because the young people in question had been transferred from their residences to parts unknown as soon as the

organization was aware that a deprogramming was planned.

The church's request for this hearing marked a new approach to the problem of deprogramming that has been decimating its ranks. Church attorney Ralph Baker promised the court that the next time an *ex parte* conservatorship was requested for a Unification church member, he would produce the potential conservatee in court. The church hierarchy has apparently decided that an open hearing could provide a forum for the movement to announce to the world that it was suffering religious persecution.

The petitioners in this case, the parents, do not see their fight for custody of their children as a curtailment of civil liberties. The sudden major changes they witnessed in their children's personalities since they joined the church justified extreme remedies to them.

►Typical suburban products.

Barbara Underwood, Janice Kaplin, Leslie Brown, Jacqueline Katz and John Hovard are representative products of suburban America. All testified that they had experimented with drugs. Each cut short an unfulfilling college career. They were all searching for a lifestyle. Kaplan worked as a masseuse. Hovard had spent a short time in jail and had been deported from Colombia on suspicion that he was involved in drug trafficking. Underwood had been living in a revolutionary feminist commune in Santa Cruz.

While their children's wanderings had worried their parents, until they became involved in the Unification movement the parents had not felt compelled to interfere in their children's lives.

Mr. Underwood, one of the parents, expresses his view that "this is not a religion at all but a political movement using the guise of religion." He says that he and his daughter had frequently discussed widely reported allegations that Sun Myung Moon has ties to the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and that church members promote the interests of the repressive regime of Park Chung Hee to representatives of the U.S. government. Her repetition of the official church position on these questions and her apparent refusal to investigate the charges strengthened his fear that she had somehow lost her power to critically evaluate her situation.

Barbara's journal, entered into evidence by her own attorney, seemed to give substance to her parents' fears. Eloquent analyses of her life and complex political and philosophical issues entered before she joined the church contrasted with later parrot-like repetitions of church dogma.

The parents' petition for conservatorship hinged on acceptance of the idea that their children had been subjected to brainwashing or coercive persuasion by the Unification church.



The five followers of Sun Myung Moon: Is it worth weakening the First Amendment to save them from the control of a bizarre religious cult? L-R, Leslie Brown, John Hovard, Janice Kaplan, Barbara Underwood, Jacqueline Katz.

The vagueness of the "brainwashing" concept, and the difficulties inherent in applying it to legal proceedings was evident in the hearing testimony.

Dr. Margaret Singer, one of the foremost investigators of the phenomenon of mind control and a participant in the original research with returning POWs from the "police action" in Korea, told the court that she found striking resemblances in the behavior and cognitive styles of these five members of the Unification church and the young soldiers who had been described as "brainwashed."

In contrast, Dr. Allan Gerson, testifying on behalf of the Moonies, reported that he found no indications in the results of the standard battery of psychological tests that he administered to indicate symptomatology that could be described as "brainwashing."

►Let the criminal justice system handle it.

The ACLU became involved because of its fear that the use of such a vague concept as "brainwashing" in a legal proceeding might lead to flagrant abuses of personal freedom. "It has been alleged that this church is involved in some kind of improper pressure on these young people. It has been called mind control; it's been called brainwashing.... These are lovely phrases; the question is are these people competent? Are they able to make their own decisions? If these churches are involved in holding people against their will, if they are involved in some sort of illegal brainwashing technique, if they are denying people access to their friends and associates, then the people responsible for that activity are probably guilty of criminal activity, and we have an elaborate and highly developed criminal justice system in the United States," says Fishlow.

Testimony revealed that the religious practice of the five Moonies consisted largely of fund-raising. In her testimony Barbara Underwood maintained that no one forced her to sleep four hours a night or sell flowers 18 to 20 hours a day, seven days a week. She found nothing sinister in the fact that she turned her daily average of \$300 over to her leaders.

Leslie Brown expanded on the story of what it is like to be a part of a Unification

Church Mobile Fund-Raising Team. She told of being shifted all over the country, earning as much as \$1,300 a day selling flowers in Alaska.

The fact that the five used almost the same words to extol their trust in the church and professed that they love working 18-hour days without pay seemed to strongly support the petitioners' conclusion that something was wrong with the lives their children were leading in their spiritual community.

►Deprogramming: a new service.

Deprogramming is a growing service occupation that has emerged to fill a new need of the middle class. Ignored by practicing psychologists because of the legal questions, it has been left to free-lancers, ex-cult members and lawyers.

Michael Trauscht and Wayne Howard, among the lawyers for the petitioners, offer a package deal that they promote as the only legal deprogramming service. For a fee they draw up and serve conservatorship orders, provide legal services, hire deprogrammers and throw in free of charge a period of rehabilitation at the Arizona-based Freedom of Thought Foundation. Their deprogramming is highly successful; 85 percent of the individuals treated emerge free of allegiance to the cult.

The legal and ethical questions surrounding this case are complex. The conflict over the practices of the Unification church may force the courts to develop guidelines defining the legitimacy of particular organizations.

The courts may also have to decide whether coercive persuasion or "brainwashing" describes a definable condition. If so, it must determine whether that, in itself, constitutes legal incompetency. Finally, if this is an incapacitating condition, do conservators or guardians have the right to force treatment on the "brainwashed?"

The ACLU warns that this conflict between Moon's church and the parents of some of its members may easily mark a fundamental assault on individual freedom of choice. They ask whether it is worth weakening the First Amendment in order to save a few individuals from the control of a bizarre religious cult?

Appeals court frees Moonies

Within four days of the end of the hearing three of the five Moonies announced that they were abandoning the church. Their impassioned defenses of their lifestyle while living under the shadow of the Unification church and during the rigors of the hearing, and their post-trial assurances that the deprogramming experience would merely test their faith crumbled after one weekend away from the church's influence.

Barbara Underwood said, "I was definitely under control—you might say mind control." Leslie Brown preferred to characterize it as heart control. Jacqueline Katz was the third to leave the church.

Then, on April 11, the California Court of Appeals stayed Judge Vavuris' order and released the five from conservatorship, ruling that Vavuris was in error in saying that parents retained certain rights over their children even after those children became legal adults. They ruled that

custody or conservatorship could not be granted except if a person were incompetent and unable to care for themselves.

The three former Moonies, however, said that they will stay with their parents and continue the process of deprogramming. John Hovard and Janice Kaplan, on the other hand, who had held to their strict beliefs while in the temporary custody of their parents, immediately rejoined their fellow Unification church followers.

The appeals court did not rule on the constitutionality of the use of conservatorship in this kind of case, saying that it would take up that question in its final ruling after it had studied the transcript of the lower court hearing.

This leaves the legal status of conservatorship in such cases up in the air until the final appellate ruling, which could take some months.

Food system won't last much longer

By Catherine Lerza

Any person of average income who shops in a supermarket, trying to feed themselves or their family on a limited budget knows that eating adequately is fast becoming a luxury. Likewise, the average Midwest farmer, faced with unpredictable markets and climatic conditions and with ever-increasing production costs, knows that it is almost impossible to make a good living on the land.

But an executive at Beatrice Foods or the Bank of America sees things a little differently: food is America's number one industry. Food exports have tripled in value since 1971 and the capital base of agriculture will amount to \$800 billion by 1980—four times what it was in 1960. Farm land in many places is so inflated in value that it is worth more than the crops that can be grown on it.

In short, Americans are caught in a food system so costly that they can hardly afford to eat.

A recent report from the Washington-based Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives presents detailed statistics about the American food industry today, proving what many Americans already know: someone is making lots of money, and it is not the average farmer or consumer.

But authors Joe Beldon and Greg Forte go on to tell us something many people may not know: the American food system is so costly, so wasteful of energy, resources and people that it cannot last in the long run. We—farmers and consumers—are taking tremendous long-term risks, while a handful of businesses and financial institutions make the short-term profit.

Beldon and Forte look at why it is that in an economy beset with unemployment and a shortage of vital resources, our food system has come to rely almost completely on an energy and resource intensive technology. They argue that this move to a capital intensive system—away from a system of family farmers—is the direct result of increasing monopoly control of food production and distribution.

►Control in marketing.

The real economic power in food, Beldon and Forte explain, lies not in who owns the land, but in who controls the marketing system. Some 95 percent of the production of processed vegetables, for instance, is controlled by processors, retailers and other non-farm interests, while 85 percent of citrus production is controlled via a similar system of vertical integration. Our food supply, they point out, has been integrated and rationalized into an industrial system—a system designed by people like former Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz and his predecessors and implemented by both Republican and Democratic administrations and Congresses over the past 30 years.

What all this means, Beldon and Forte argue, is that most of us have no control over our food supply. Like Third World nations where the best food-producing land is given over to cash crops that produce profits for a few wealthy landowners or corporations, Americans find themselves at the mercy of a system designed to produce money instead of food. Food is grown for markets instead of people. And in a system where not everyone has enough money to adequately purchase their food needs in that market, people will always be hungry.

Beldon and Forte's intent is not just to describe the present system. They make some radical proposals about food and its control: *The basic solution...lies in the support of family farming and assault on privilege and monopoly. These goals will not be achieved without some fundamental shifts in the control over all the stops along the road from the farm to the grocery checkout counter. It must be recognized that the producer's capital, credit and other inputs are public needs, requiring public commitment and accountability.*



Ken Frestone

We—farmers and consumers—are taking tremendous long-term risks, while a handful of businesses and financial institutions make the short-term profit.

ity. Similarly, the mid-sectors of processing, transportation, wholesaling and retailing must be seen as too vital to be left responsible only to the forces of profit. It is government, preferably the states under federal coordination, which must assume ultimate responsibility for social stability and progress. In agriculture...this means public replacement of inadequate private mechanisms.

To create public accountability and control, the report suggests that the federal government take several immediate steps, ranging from small reforms to outright public control over agricultural commodities. Among the reform actions the plans calls for are:

- federal anti-trust action to break up monopoly-controlled food production/marketing/processing;
- tax advantages and new financing opportunities for family farmers who, under the present system, cannot compete with economically-advantaged corporate interests in the food system;
- government encouragement of a decentralized food production system to reduce energy and resource wasteful long-distance transportation of food and to revitalize regional economies;
- incentives to recycle urban and animal wastes for use as fertilizer to cut down dependence on expensive and scarce fossil-fuel based chemical fertilizers and to reduce the burden of water pollution abatement costs.

►Subsidize farm income.

The major structural change advocated by the report is the support of farm income by the public through the tax system, rather than by an ever-inflating price system. Farm income could be stabilized through direct government support of farm prices. Support levels would be set by a formula providing farmers with an income equal to costs of production and a reasonable rate of return.

Along with this direct payment for farmers, Beldon and Forte envision agricultural marketing boards, modeled after the Canadian Wheat Board and other existing bodies. These publicly-controlled government-run boards would provide an alternate marketing mechanism to that now controlled by commodities trading (e.g., the Chicago Board of Trade) and would eliminate the wildly fluctuating prices that make it possible for commodities traders to profit from specula-

tion. Cost of production and market demand, not speculation or economic control, would thus determine the price of commodities like wheat, beef or potatoes under this system.

►Not new.

Most of the report's suggestions are not new or even tremendously radical. The direct payment system was devised by former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan on the mid-1940s, for instance. Nevertheless, it is considered very unlikely that any of them will be adopted. The power of the corporate interests that control the food system, so amply demonstrated by Beldon and Forte and others, is such that it is unlikely that anything other than minor reforms to make the industrialized food system more "accountable" to the public, but leaving the real control where it now rests, will be adopted in the immediate future.

Congress is now considering a new five-year farm bill—the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1977. Senate Agriculture committee chair Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) has drafted one version of the legislation, while the House Agriculture Committee is preparing its own permutation of the bill and the Department of Agriculture is hammering out Carter's farm proposals. The biggest change likely to come out of any of these new bills is a new formula for federally financed commodity loans.

Loan levels would likely be based on cost of production (75 percent of such costs in the Talmadge bill) and would, if farm lobbyists have their way, be adjusted automatically as these costs increase. This concept would replace the present system for farm loans, which determines them by a complex process most observers feel does not reflect the current economic needs of farmers.

The new loan levels would be accompanied by "target prices," first introduced by the Nixon administration in 1973. Under the target price system the federal government must buy up commodities when market prices fall below the "target prices." So far, the targets have been so low that market prices have never come close, nor have they reflected actual costs of production of the commodities; target prices for wheat, for instance, were raised to \$2.50 a bushel last year (while Gerald Ford campaigned in the Midwest), but the cost of production, according to the agri-

culture department, was between \$3.40 and \$3.71 per bushel.

Such a system of loans and target prices though it provides farmers with financing at the early, crucial stages of production and protects them from the possibility of total market collapse, does nothing to stabilize overall market prices or reduce increasing dependence on expanding export markets. In addition to the basic farm bill, Congress and the new administration are considering a variety of small changes in U.S. farm and food policy. The House Agriculture Appropriations committee will soon decide whether or not to fund a small, \$1.5 million program to encourage the development of direct farmer-consumer marketing systems approved by the last Congress. And the Agriculture department may set up its version of the Carter administration symbolic gesture, an Office of Public Participation. These and other proposed changes remain minimal; a far cry from the kind of wide-reaching structural change called for by Beldon and Forte.

►Farmers remain skeptical.

Many farmers, however, remain skeptical of any change, realizing perhaps that government intervention over the last 30 years has meant favoritism for the already wealthy. Beldon and Forte, for instance, point out that in 1959 some 56 percent of American farms received only seven percent of total government support payments and that past "stabilization" programs have only exacerbated the economic discrepancies between small farmers and agribusiness interests.

A leader of one national farm organization, looking over the Beldon/Forte report, commented that it called for the "Chinese-ization of farming" and feared a loss of independence for the farmer were its recommendations to be implemented. Clearly, then, the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives and all the other groups seeking a food system that feeds a maximum number of people in the most rational long term fashion will have to convince farmers that such a system doesn't mean an end to the independence they cherish.

Beldon and Forte have done a real service in bringing together an impressive array of figures and proposals. Whether that array can be translated into positive action, however, remains to be seen.

Catherine Lerza is a writer in Washington.

IN THE WORLD

AFRICA



Above: Ailiune Sene, Minister of Culture from Senegal, with Ron Karenga.

Right: Jose Mas-sip, director and producer of the National Film Industry in Havana, Cuba, with Ron Karenga.



Below: Chin Pi-hua, correspondent of Hsinhua News Agency (New China News Agency), Peking, China, with Ron Karenga.



Left: Wole Soyinka, noted Nigerian writer, with Ron Karenga.



FESTAC: report from Nigeria

By M. Ron Karenga

The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) was delayed and endangered by a civil war, a coup, assassination of the head of state in the host country and the tragic death of the director of the Colloquium. Thus, when this month-long cultural extravaganza and intellectual exchange, involving thousands of participants from 75 countries, took place in Lagos on Jan. 15, it seemed a miracle, a good omen of great expectations and greater possibilities.

That it was being held in Nigeria also seemed auspicious. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country (70 million), rich in oil reserves (two million barrels a day and second-ranking supplier to the U.S.) and considered pivotal in the liberation and development of the continent. Also, Nigeria has recently shown a refreshing progressiveness in its foreign policy. It has spoken out against imperialism and neo-colonialism, advocated armed struggle to free Southern Africa and given \$50 million in aid to the liberation movements. Moreover, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, head of state and grand patron of FESTAC, had opposed the American position on Angola and Southern Africa in general, accused Ford and Kissinger of siding with the Boer regime of South Africa and refused three times to meet with Kissinger.

Although the most numerous participants in FESTAC were artists and writers, the Colloquium on Black Civilization and Education was "the very heart of the Festival."

The Colloquium, held in the profuse and unproletarian elegance of the National Theater, was divided into five sub-themes: 1) Arts and Pedagogy; 2) Language and Literature; 3) Philosophy and Religion; 4) Historical Awareness and African Governments; and 5) Science and Technology and Mass Media. Conclusions and proposals were reported and voted on in plenary sessions at the end of the Colloquium. The plenary sessions also heard lectures by recognized scholars and others.

We argued for cooperation based on mutual respect and mutual benefit, attacked continental chauvinism and reminded continental Africans that it was Marcus Garvey, William E.B. DuBois and Sylvester Williams, Africans in the Diaspora, not continentals, who conceived and carried out the first Pan-African projects.

Two issues dominated the Colloquium: the question of race versus class, and the relations between continental and diaspora Africans.

The first involved the struggle over the character and course of Pan-Africanism, whether it should center in a racial and cultural interpretation of identity and unity or whether it should be continentally inclusive and class-conscious.

►Black or African?

FESTAC was the immediate cultural heir of the World Festival of Negro Arts held in Dakar, Senegal, in 1966 and the immediate political heir of the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers in 1969. The Dakar festival represented the cultural commitment to *Negritude*, or the racial uniqueness of black Africans, and the one in Algiers a political commitment to the class-conscious unity and common struggle of all African peoples on the continent.

Both positions have their basis in the dual sense of cultural alienation and political impotence that capitalism and its supportive apparatus, racism, produced among Third World peoples. It is the split over which factor is the more relevant and decisive that has historically plagued Pan-Africanism and was bound to penetrate the process and discussions of this Colloquium.

The very name of the Festival—Black and African—was an expression of this two-line struggle and the compromise

achieved to facilitate exchange. Senegal, which has historically advocated the Negritude position, refused at first to attend FESTAC unless it was exclusively for black peoples of the world. Nigeria, however, was able to work out a compromise that brought Senegal back to the Pan-African fold. The agreement was that FESTAC would recognize the principle that the festival was essentially for black people the world over and that Senegal would reciprocate by accepting the "pragmatic realities" that FESTAC was "open to all member states of the OAU, black governments, and black communities outside Africa and liberation movements recognized by the OAU."

The compromise was fragile and the struggle to annul it began on the first day with Senegal challenging North African participation and arguing black uniqueness and exclusivity.

Guinea, in response, attacked this position as being objectively on the side of imperialism and argued that since civilization could not be explained by the color of one's skin, it would be more appropriate to speak of an African rather than a black civilization.

The delegations from the U.S., the Republic of the Congo, Somalia and Cuba supported Guinea's espousal of a continentally inclusive and class-conscious Pan-Africanism. These delegations formed what came to be referred to as the "radical caucus" of the Colloquium and led a generally successful struggle in every plen-

ary and working group to establish and maintain a socialist perspective on all issues and to keep the Colloquium from turning into an elaborate exercise in black self-admiration and exclusivity. Nigeria, through its chairing the Colloquium, played the conciliatory role expected of a host and strove to maintain a workable unity, however fragile.

►The African diaspora.

The second major issue in the Colloquium was the history and future of relations between Africans on the continent and Africans in the Diaspora. This question, raised and pursued vigorously by the American delegation under the chairmanship of this writer, assumed perhaps a greater importance than ever before in a Pan-African gathering. This was due mainly to the clearly socialist positions we took on the issues before the Colloquium and the self-conscious practice we pursued in and outside the Colloquium to put ourselves on the Pan-African agenda and gain the respect crucial to effective and mutually beneficial participation.

It was undoubtedly the socialist and anti-imperialist character of our position that more than any other factor contributed to the Western press stressing cultural events at FESTAC, and to its concealing the favorable response evoked by our delegation. The press also reflected the U.S. State department's attitude. The State department had failed to determine the composition of the 10-person delegation as it had on previous occasions and was displeased that the International Festival committee extended its invitation to the Afro-American community rather than the American government.

Our position on Pan-Africanism was that it must of necessity be world-wide in scope and socialist in content. We argued that only a socialist Pan-Africanism could unite the continent in the struggle to defeat imperialism and neo-colonialism and ensure the ownership and control of the means of production by the masses of African peoples, the rationalization of industry and agriculture, the correct use of surplus, the end of prestige projects and long

(Continued on page 11.)

WORLD LABOR

AFL-CIO cold war with ILO abates

By Bruce Vandervort

Geneva, Switz. The International Labor Organization (ILO) is the oldest United Nations specialized agency. Its birthdate in 1919 was far from accidental. The brainchild of French reformist socialist Albert Thomas, its first Director-General, the ILO was designed to counter the left working class movements that swept the industrialized nations in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It sought to provide a forum for the tripartite (labor/management/government) negotiation of industrial reforms. These reforms would be enshrined in Conventions that would then be ratified by ILO member governments.

Until the post-World War II period, the ILO was largely a Western European institution with a pronounced social democratic orientation, as both the U.S. and USSR stood aloof from it. After 1945, however, both countries became members and the ILO quickly became an arena of the Cold War.

The American grievances against the ILO date from that era. Under AFL-CIO pressure the American government notified the ILO in November 1975 that it intended to leave the Geneva-based organization in 1977 unless it mended its ways.

But signs are beginning to point to a truce in George Meany's very public war with the ILO.

►ILO meets Meany halfway.

Meany's principal gripe has been that the ILO is allowing the Eastern bloc and the Third World to use it as a forum for expressing "anti-American" sentiments. While the AFL-CIO has been grumbling about this since the beginning of the Cold War, the first real blow-up came in June 1975 when the ILO's annual International Labor Conference voted to grant observer status to the Palestine Liberation Organization, thus provoking a walk-out of the American labor delegates.

Last spring, the AFL-CIO underscored its displeasure with the ILO by affiliating with the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a clear warning that American labor was prepared to support the Kissinger strategy of circumventing the UN in favor of direct power-brokering between the industrialized and developing countries.

Since then the ILO, 25 percent of

whose budget comes from American contributions, has done its best to meet Mr. Meany half-way. American worker delegates expressed satisfaction at the relatively "de-politicized" agenda of the 1976 ILO International Labor Conference. And they were visibly pleased when the Norwegian chairman of an ILO maritime conference last October gavelled down "anti-American" speeches on the Panama Canal.

A further clue to current AFL-CIO thinking on ILO membership was contained in the closing remarks of Edward Carlough Jr., General President of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (U.S. and Canada) and Workers' Vice-Chairman of the 9th Session of the ILO Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee that took place in Geneva last January.

►To get politics out of the ILO.

One of the more youthful and dynamic leaders of an AFL-CIO Construction Trades Department not noted for its charisma or sprightliness, Carlough has emerged as an important AFL-CIO International emissary. He is reputed to have attended the controversial 1975 ILO International Labor Conference as Meany's special observer and participated in the walk-out of the American labor delegation.

Back in Geneva for the January 1977 construction industry meeting, Carlough recalled that he had left in 1975 "with a heart filled with regret and just a little anger." "The politicalization of the processes of the ILO does not serve the worker," he continued, "it uses them and, in so doing, abuses the very ideal for which this organization was created."

To get "politics" out of the ILO, top priority should be given to the work of tripartite industrial committees like that for the construction industry, Carlough argued, echoing one of Meany's favorite themes. He praised the cooperative spirit among the worker, employer and government members of the committee, which, among other things, had agreed to draft conclusions on stabilizing earnings and employment in the construction industry.

There was much to please George Meany in the outcome of the construction industry meeting: an emphasis on "non-ideological" goals, a re-affirmation of the tripartite principle on which the ILO was founded and a call for giving first pri-



Edward Carlough Jr., general president of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (U.S. and Canada) addresses the 9th session of the ILO Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee in Geneva last January. According to Carlough, "The politicalization of the processes of the ILO does not serve the worker."

ority to the work of the industrial committees, which Meany has always seen as the heart of ILO activities.

Last month's meeting of the ILO Governing Body brought the organization yet another giant step closer to satisfying the AFL-CIO demands. A committee was established to "screen" the agenda of the annual ILO International Labor Conference to assure that sensitive "political" issues do not find their way into debate.

If the ILO continues to live up to George Meany's expectations, the AFL-CIO may decide to pull in its horns. Al-

ready there are hints that the new Carter administration is preparing to backtrack on the Kissinger ultimatum of 1975.

However, if the ILO should falter in its "rehabilitation," Meany may well decide to throw American labor's lot in with the Trilateral Commission power-brokers, an alternative already presaged in last spring's decision to participate in the OECD. The answer will probably be spelled out during this June's ILO International Labor Conference in Geneva.

Bruce Vandervort is a journalist in Geneva.

POLAND

New Polish thaw: Gierek walks a tightrope

By Robert Wise

Pacific News Service

Warsaw. A political and cultural "spring" currently flowering here is being greeted with cautious optimism—and with chilly silence from some neighboring Eastern bloc nations.

The government-initiated liberalization is apparently designed to defuse continuing debate over the explosive events of 1976—particularly the riots following an aborted government attempt to sharply raise food prices last June. Since then, workers, intellectuals and the powerful Roman Catholic church hierarchy here have pressured the government to investigate charges of repression following the June events and to loosen media censorship.

Beginning with a conciliatory speech in February by First Party Secretary Edward Gierek to workers in Ursus—a hotbed of opposition to the food price rises last year—the government has indicated

it favored amnesty for last June's protesting workers and the implementation of long-awaited mechanisms for "workers-state consultations." It also announced plans to expand press and cultural freedom and called for "constructive criticism" by journalists in print and electronic media.

Also in recent weeks a number of controversial—and often highly political—plays and movies have opened in Warsaw and elsewhere. Among the most interesting are "The Man of Marble," a searing indictment of Stalinism in Poland playing to packed houses in three large Warsaw movie theaters; "Protective Colorings," an extremely critical look at higher education in Poland; and "Declaration '76," a play concerning American Revolution-era radical Thomas Paine. The latter has been described by one longtime Western observer here as "easily the most controversial play to open in Poland since before the war."

Most observers believe the current relaxation of censorship and concessions to workers will take the initiative away from the dissidents. One dissident, however, says that for the time being he will adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude. Jacek Kuron, a member of the Committee for the Defense of Workers—organized last fall to seek reform within the system—says he "doubts the government has the guts to carry out the reforms" and fears they will, in the end, resort to "repression."

Gierek, who came to power following a similar "outbreak of social dissatisfaction" in December 1970, is walking a tightrope between his need to defuse domestic discontent and his obligations to the Eastern bloc. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and to a lesser extent Hungary and Bulgaria, have adopted a hardline approach to the bloc's growing problem with dissidents.

On the other hand, just prior to the re-

cent Warsaw pact meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, East German leader Erich Honecker met with Gierek in Warsaw. The two leaders called for "full compliance with all sections of the Helsinki accords"—which deal with freedom of travel and human rights—by signatory nations. And in fact, East Germany—and Romania—have shown a recent tendency toward leniency on human rights.

If each Eastern bloc country now goes its own way in dealing with dissidents, it could mean that a long-promised and long-denied period of political and social reform is underway for the Poles. When Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev met with Gierek after the June riots, Brezhnev reportedly told the Polish leader, "Do anything, as long as you keep your people quiet."

The next few months will tell how far the Soviets—and the Poles—are willing to press the issue. The last thing anyone here wants is a repeat of Prague, 1968.

ITALY

IMF pact causes leaks in PCI plumbing

By Diana Johnstone

Milan. On April 6, Milan's Lirico Theater had a full house of spirited and combative labor delegates. What was showing was the growing leakage at the base of the Italian Communist party (PCI) as it continues to try to patch together its "historic compromise" with the Christian Democratic party (DC) at the top.

The meeting at the Lirico Theater was called on April 2 by delegates of 268 Factory Councils from the Milan region to organize the rank-and-file revolt against the agreement signed on March 30 between the Christian Democratic Government of Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and the leaders of Italy's big trade union confederations, the CGIL, CISL and UIL (close to the PCI, the DC and the Socialist party respectively).

At issue were the concessions by the unions in adjusting the cost of living index that is used as a basis for the sliding wage scale that keeps Italian working people's purchasing power from being wiped out by inflation. The new agreement allowed for price increases without corresponding wage increases in the cost of newspapers, electricity, and urban transportation.

The pretext for agreeing to the concessions was that they were necessary to win approval from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a \$530 million loan to Italy. The concessions were indeed relatively small. But so was the loan. For a country with an economy and debts the size of Italy's, half a billion dollars is chicken feed.

►Real stakes political.

Thus there was something very artificial about the whole suspense-filled drama played out by Italian political leaders over the IMF loan. Theoretically, Italian promises to reduce the "cost of labor" were supposed to earn the IMF seal of approval that would be enough to stem the flight of capital and make Italy an attractively profitable field for foreign investment.

But there is plenty of reason to be skeptical. Andreotti's austerity measures imply continued recession, not expansion through investment, and moreover, there is absolutely nothing to indicate that investing in Italy fits in with the immediate tendencies of international capital in any case. Rather, capital seems to be heading either for the most advanced capitalist countries—the U.S. or West Germany—or else towards cheap labor areas of the Third World, leaving traditional industrial

It appeared that the Christian Democrats were using the PCI's determination to prove itself "responsible" in the eyes of international capital, and thus be allowed to join a coalition government without "destabilization" immediately following in order to get the PCI into trouble with its labor base by leading it into unpopular, one-sided compromises.

areas with their organized labor movements, whether in Italy, Britain or parts of the northern U.S., in the lurch.

At the same time, Italy's creditors in the big international banks still have an interest of their own in keeping the country from bankruptcy so as to get their money back. These interests seem weightier than a couple of minor modifications of the sliding scale and would not have permitted even the appearance of a "Showdown" unless something other than minor economic adjustments were at stake.

So the real stakes seemed political, but what were they? The PCI newspaper *L'Unita* solemnly went along with the game of finding the IMF loan "important" to Italy and PCI spokesmen, rather than denouncing IMF interference in Italy's domestic affairs, suggested that the unacceptably tough terms eventually cut out of the final agreement had been put in not by the Americans from the IMF, but by the Christian Democrats, hiding behind the Americans.

L'Unita hailed the March 30 "understanding" signed by the unions and the government as guaranteeing the sliding scale and editorialized that a "dangerous attempt" by the government to intrude on an area properly reserved to collective bargaining had been successfully rebuffed. At the same time, PCI leaders were stressing that they could not go on much longer propping up Andreotti's minority government by abstaining from all the votes in parliament that could topple it and that their self-abnegation must soon be rewarded with some real government responsibility.

To many political observers, it appeared

that the Christian Democrats were using the PCI's determination to prove itself "responsible" in the eyes of international capital, and thus be allowed to join a coalition government without "destabilization" immediately following, in order to get the PCI into trouble with its labor base by leading it into unpopular, one-sided compromises. This, anyway, was what seemed to be happening.

►A challenge to union democracy.

Italian workers know how to get their point across. In addition to the trade unions, they have created Factory Councils with the right to hold meetings in work places and elect representatives that cut across union membership, frequently mixed, as the closed shop does not exist and the three federations may coexist in the same factory, competing for members, which keeps the leaders on their toes.

The 268 Factory Councils that issued the call for the meeting in the Lirico Theater strongly disagreed with the PCI's interpretation of the March 30 "understanding." Rather, they called the union leadership's decision to sign measures affecting the sliding scale without consulting the base "a challenge to union democracy" of "unprecedented gravity," and a "new capitulation on the problem of union autonomy in regard to political parties."

This was a warning from the labor base that no political party, including the PCI, should be able to use its influence on the unions to advance its position (or try to) in whatever complicated political game may be going on in those beclouded regions up at the top inhabited by cabinet ministers, party leaders and visiting IMF inspectors.

"We are seeking to work out a unified position starting with the Factory Councils and going on from there to all levels of the union structure," explained Giorgio Tiboni, a leader of the important united metal workers union, the FLM. "The Confederation leaders mustn't think they can impose their unity by dropping it on us from the top. Either they respect the guidelines worked out in workers' assemblies, or else we lower ranking leaders will not feel bound by decisions taken at the top."

This was the unanimous sentiment of the couple of thousand union delegates who crowded into the Lirico on April 6, vowing to carry on the fight for union democracy and demanding immediate suspension of all negotiations between union leaders and the government until a national assembly of workers' delegates could meet to discuss guidelines. Delegates from such big Milan factories as Pirelli and Alfa Romeo were prominent at the meeting.

►Palefaces with forked tongues.

The exuberant mood was in no way dampened by the presence of delegates from various movements representing what are called the "marginalized" sectors of society—*emarginati*—such as students, the organized unemployed, feminists, and even the Autonomous Groups and the City Indians that have attracted great attention through the student movement that broke out in the universities in February (see in *THESE TIMES*, March 23). When women delegates from the Factory Councils called for a minute of silence in memory of Elena Cavinato, who had died the week before because no Milan hospital would give her a therapeutic abortion, a hush fell over the assemblage and every man and woman there spontaneously raised a fist in militant tribute.

If that weren't enough to show that the Italian labor movement or at least significant portions of it, is not exactly like most others, the surprising apparition of the City Indians, rather than setting in motion a flying squad of marshalls to throw the oddities out, inspired one trade union official to exclaim: "In our movement, there are too many palefaces who speak with forked tongues." Which just about brought down the house with enthusiastic applause.

(This is the first of two articles on Italy.)

Diana Johnstone is a journalist in Paris who writes the newsletter *Owl*. She recently visited Italy.

Karenga from Nigeria

(Continued from page 9.)

salaries for the elite, the reduction of armies and the formation of people's militia. And we pointed out that often the stress on race and culture is no more than air sandwiches sold to the masses to divert them from the political and economic deprivation they are forced to endure.

Moreover, we argued that Pan-Africanism as a world project meant that allegiance to the continent was no substitute for national struggles and the liberation of African peoples in the countries in which they find themselves. We argued that Afro-Americans are a key people in a key society and that our liberation would not only free this country from the grotesque grip of capitalism and racism, but also bring the whole of humanity closer to full and final liberation. Thus we concluded that brothers and sisters in culture are no substitute for brothers and sisters in struggle and that a concrete and complementary relationship in common struggle is what we must aim for and achieve.

We conceded the asymmetrical relationship between continental Africans who had state power and international imperatives, and African communities in the

Diaspora who had instead a multiplicity of groups with limited power. But we still argued for cooperation based on mutual respect and mutual benefit, attacked continental cultural chauvinism and reminded continental Africans that it was Marcus Garvey, William E. B. DuBois and Sylvester Williams, Africans in the Diaspora, not continentals, who conceived and carried out the first Pan-African projects.

To facilitate our exchange, we then proposed: 1) permanent observer and ex-officio status for Diaspora Africans on all OAU committees; 2) formation of an All African Peoples' Convention to supplement on an international level the continental concerns of the OAU; 3) a Pan-African University with student, faculty and staff from all over the African world and consciously dedicated to solving problems of the African world; 4) Diaspora African studies in African universities to parallel and complement African studies in the Western world; and 5) the adoption of a continental language, preferably Swahili.

The problem with these proposals is that they depend almost entirely on the agreement and implementation of conti-

mental governments. Until Africans in Disapora can offer something concrete in return, they are likely to remain agreed upon in principle, but never in practice.

►The American role.

The participation of the American delegation was unprecedented not only because of its open and consistent socialist position, but also because of the practical role it played in the Colloquium. It was a prime mover in forming the radical caucus and often chaired it and presented its position on the floor in plenary sessions. Moreover, it provided translation for the caucus discussions and position statements of its members in French, Spanish and English. It organized and chaired the Diaspora Caucus and drafted a minority report based on submissions of concerns by black governments and communities outside Africa and presented it for acceptance and inclusion in the final report.

The American delegation joined the black Australians in their efforts to be included in the Pan-African Project and gain assistance for their struggle at home. Since then, this writer was invited and sent a ticket by representatives of the black Australian community to come on a lecture tour in Australia and reinforce the links between our struggles. However, he was denied a visa from the Australian capital, itself, rather than its consulate in

San Francisco, for unspecified political reasons.

We supported the black Brazilian community's proposal that in all future Pan-African gatherings Portuguese be used as a working language, given the fact that millions of Africans in the Diaspora and on the continent speak it. Finally, in addition to presentation of our various papers, we chaired three sub-theme sessions of the Colloquium in Philosophy and Religion, Languages and Literature and Arts and Pedagogy.

In sum then, FESTAC was a new and significant beginning, especially for Afro-Americans. There were no miracles achieved, no walking on water or liberation from the imperialist dragon in the twinkling of a socialist eye. A basis was laid for continued cooperation and exchange among African peoples. We corrected the misrepresentations of us by others who preceded us, but who in fact did not represent us. And finally, we engaged in a scholarly exchange that we hope contributed to the development of a real theory and practice for the liberation of African peoples and a higher level of human life. More than this in such a setting would seem naive to expect and almost impossible to achieve.

M. Ron Karenga is a professor of Afro-American Studies at San Diego State University, a lecturer in Swahili at Grossmont College and a long-time movement activist and social theorist.

Left: Studs during his acting career. Right: with Mahalia Jackson.



Jane Malmick

Terkel's memoir of his times

"It is the first time a white man asks me these questions," said Magwiana Hlachayo . . . from a chapter called "The Native" in Studs Terkel's *Talking to Myself*.

On a shelf against the wall of my workroom is something of a plant. I don't know what else to call it. The flowers are of crepe paper, the stems of wire. Their colors are green, pink, and yellow. The pot, decorated with beribboned streamers of green, pink and yellow, may have been a vegetable can. Or a soup can. Campbell's, perhaps? After fourteen years, the paper is faded. No matter. On the morning of February 13, 1963, it was presented to me by Magwiana Hlachayo. A gift. Something to remember him by.

South Africa. The bus is taking the thirty-five of us pilgrims to Kruger National Park, the celebrated animal preserve. It is raining; a euphemism, if there ever was one. South African rains are torrential. It is more of a cyclone, as the tall gum trees sway, drunkenly and dangerously, above us. Bill Olds, our Gary Cooper of a driver, is masterful, weaving and dodging along the sloshy roads. Frau Weigel, seated beside him; is gallantly, though frantically, wiping away at the windshield. She is young, handsome, and buxom and doing one hell of a job. Some of my companions break into song. "Muss i denn." "Das Wanderlied." Even "Der Lindenbaum." It may not sound as poignant as Schubert had envisioned, but ours is a different kind of *Winterreise*. As a tribute to Frau Weigel, there's "Hoch du lieber." As we all join in with "drei mal hoch," it is a toast to our own well-being. We're feeling high, what with excellent beers, fine brandies, and the wildness of it all. Nature is at its most awesome, but we'll not be awed.

Outside the window, through the slashing rains, we see a black cyclist. Bare-headed, huddled against the wheel, he pedals on. We see scattered groups of black women and children walking along the road or whatever people do in these circumstances. Some of the women have bundles balanced on their heads. Where are they going? Must they be there at an appointed hour, even in this storm? Bill Olds manages a remarkably deft turn. The pedestrians are out of sight.

Pretoriaskop. It is the lodge where we shall spend this night. Each of us is assigned a hut. Mine is Number Fifty-eight. I seat myself on the cot. Am I Hemingway's great white hunter? What is across the river and beyond the trees?

There is a gentle rap at the door. I open it. A scrawny black man, a bantamweight, smiles wanly. His wrinkles and wizened appearance tell me he's way up there in years. He is wearing those small child pants.

"I am John, mastah. Your bedroom boy."

I stare at him, stupidly.

At last I say, "Come in."

"I will make your bed, mastah. I will fill your basin. I will fill your jug. I will sweep your floor." He will attend to all my wishes, he says.

I wish for him to talk to me.

"Yes, mastah."

I shut the door.

I invite him to be seated. He hesitates. I sit on the cot. He sits on the chair. I scratch my head.

"What is it, mastah?"

Oh boy.

"Am not your master."

"No?" He appears bewildered. "What are you, mastah?"

Oh Christ, I wish I knew. I'd be a millionaire. I'll try not to sound too stupid.

For starters: "How old are you?" Why did I ask that? Rude and awkward.

"I think about fifty-two," he says.

"Not quite sure." I had him pegged as a young seventy. In any event, "my boy" is two years older than I am.

He had been at this job for six years. Before that, he had served "in madame's house" in a faraway city. His father,

one of sixteen children, had been "a police boy" for the railroad. He himself has nine children: five girls and four boys. They live on a farm in White River. He has a few head of cattle. We had passed White River on our way here. It's a good forty miles off. Does he see his family on weekends?

"Weekends?" He repeats the word so slowly. It's plain he doesn't understand what it means. I soon find out why.

He works seven days a week. His hours: three in the morning to eight at night. His pay: three pounds a month. And whatever guests, such as myself, see fit to toss his way. He goes home every night. It is my turn to be bewildered. How does he do it?

"I manage," he says, managing a smile. "Everybody is suffering."

"What do you hope your children will be?" I ask. I try to be neither patron nor interviewer, but I'm failing on both counts.

"I will be very glad if they will clean up people who have hurt on their hands," he says. I squint at the microphone.

"When they got sores," he explains.

"Doctors?"

"Yes, doctors," he says. "Not native doctors. European doctors. My daughter says, 'I don't want to be fooled. I want to be well-educated.' I said, 'Okay. I must sell the cattle that you must be well-educated.' I am not well-educated. I am half-educated. Of course, I can hear when you people are talking." He laughs softly.

His people, he says, are Bush Buck Ridge.

"What is your name?" I ask.

"John," he says, as though speaking to a retarded child. "I told you."

"No, no," I say. "What is the name your father gave you?"

He looks at me intently. Who is this guy, anyway? He smiles. "Magwiana." He whispers it.

I take out a piece of paper. Slowly, he spells it out for me. Slowly, I write it down. I show it to him. He laughs. There is a touch of surprise to his laugh.

"Is that your first name or your family name?" I ask.

"My name is Magwiana Hlachayo." He pronounces it deliberately. I repeat it and get it wrong. Patiently, he enunciates it again. He spells it. Slowly, I write it down. He laughs.

"John is not my real name. The white people gave it to me because they can't say Magwiana Hlachayo." We both laugh. He must go now. He'll be back tomorrow morning to serve me.

At five in the morning, pale moon to the left, blazing sun to the right, Magwiana Hlachayo is at the door, bearing coffee. When I return from the excursion in the park and have seen all the animals, he has a surprise for me, he says.

From our bus, we see all manner of beasts wandering in the preserve, free and easy. Gnus, liberated from crossword puzzle squares; they are called wildebeests out here; warthogs, tusks at the ready, cousins to wild boars; a heard of small deer, taking their matutinal stroll; zebras, squat as fire plugs, huddled against bushes; clambering monkeys, nervous, busy, trying to take center stage and failing; buffaloes, out for their morning jog, minding their own business; an impala, posing in the bright sunlight, an innocent young maiden, unaware that a leopard has his eye on her and is poised to spring; a crocodile in the stream, half-camouflaged by surrounding greenery, patiently awaiting his breakfast—the impala is pigmeat to him; a couple of elephants, swinging their trunks, overwhelming all else within range; a baboon, hitchhiking, hopping onto our bus, and after a few hundred yards, hopping off, casually showing us his red ass. . .

(On the day of my departure from the country, a woman interviewer of the South African Broadcasting Company asked for my impressions. "Never," said I, much impressed, "have I seen a land where the sky is so blue and the animals so free.")

It is late afternoon at Pretoriaskop. There is a gentle rap at the door. It is Magwiana Hlachayo. He enters. In his hand is something of a plant. It is for me, he says. His twelve-year-old daughter made these flowers last night. She is his favorite child. The one who wants to be a doctor.

"I told her about the white man who asked for my real name," he says. I hold the plant in my hand like a hockey champion cradling the Stanley Cup; I am equally articulate.

"It is the first time a white man asks me these questions," he continues. "As long as I have been in this park, I have never seen a European sitting together with a native."

There is a knock on the door. Four black men, in small boys' pants, stand there. Magwiana Hlachayo invites them in. He introduces me to each. Everybody is laughing. Jack Wallace enters. It's as crowded as the Marx Brothers' stateroom. There is more laughter.

Emilio is Magwiana's brother-in-law. He is the petrol boy. My co-host urges me to ask him questions, which he will translate since Emilio knows little English. Emilio wants his small daughter "to be a mistress to look after people laying on the bed."

A nurse?

"Yes, a nurse," replies Magwiana Hlachayo. Emilio nods his head many times.

I recognize one of the others as the young floor scrubber from Swaziland. I had spoken to him before, while he was at his task in the office. Two white men, within earshot, had been talking about

blacks as spoiled children.

Jack Wallace asks Magwiana Hlachayo, "When white men talk, do you feel they talk as though you weren't there?"

The other doesn't quite understand. "Will you say that again, mastah?"

Jack and I act out a European conversation with all the appropriate gestures. There is much laughter. Softly, Magwiana Hlachayo, who now understands, says, "I'm feeling bad on it. My heart is sore. I am also very cross because it is not very nice."

Jack says something about Magwiana Hlachayo having dignity.

The other doesn't understand.

"What is dignity?" he asks.

"Dignity is a strange word," I say.

"Dignity is a strange word," he repeats ever so slowly, as though in the saying of it, he might understand.

"Whatever it is, you got it," says Jack.

In a few moments, we'll be taking off. It is time for good-byes.

"Can I get anything from the master when he leaves here?" asks Magwiana.

I surreptitiously shove a fistful of crumpled rand into his hand.

"Thank you, mastah," he says quietly.

It doesn't seem to be exactly what he wants, though he certainly can use the dough.

"What?" I ask, not quite sure.

"I want a letter."

"A letter? To whom?"

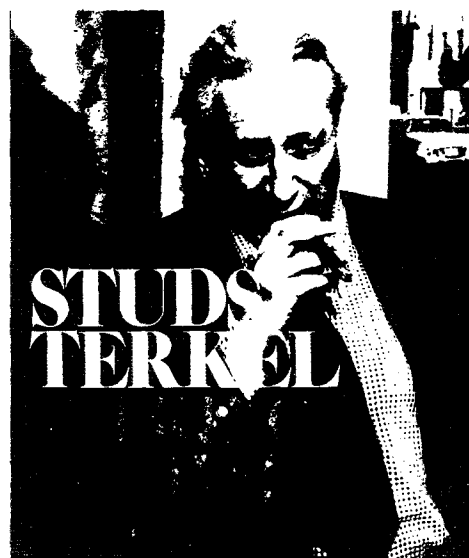
"To me. Write something, mastah."

Write to Magwiana Hlachayo. With your name."

I do so. It is, I imagine, an exchange of gifts, though I've a hunch I got much the better of the deal.

As, at this moment, I look at something of a plant, with its multi-colored paper flowers and wire stems, I wonder about the child who made it. She is now twenty-six. By this time, she may indeed be well educated. If not in medicine, in other matters.

Good reading—illuminating history



TALKING TO MYSELF: A Memoir of My Times
By Studs Terkel
Pantheon, 1977, N.Y., \$10

On his home turf, Studs Terkel is known best of all as a man who has interviewed (for a local fine arts FM station) visitors to and residents of Chicago for as long as most of his listeners can remember. Now and then he has gone elsewhere—to Europe or Africa or Alabama—to interview interesting people who don't come through Chicago.

He has compiled three best-selling books out of these recorded conversations—*Division Street*, *Hard Times*, and *Working*. The reason he and the books have been so successful in this vein is that Terkel is willing and able to suppress his "self" to an extraordinary extent while he is getting the "self" he is tape-recording to relax and reveal.

Being interviewed by Studs, as one subject recently remarked, is like undergoing "a soft massage."

But Terkel is not a soft man. Compassionate, yes—up to a point. Full of anger, some of it righteous; some idiosyncratic. Opinionated as any by-lined newspaper columnist. An actor of no great distinction on stage, screen and air waves, he has been an actor of significance in many of the political struggles of his times.

This time Terkel has decided to interview the public, or semi-public Studs. (There is no invasion of his privacy—no secrets are exposed.) The result is interesting because Terkel is an interesting man who has lived in an interesting time. Reading what he remembers about it is one way of learning the history of the last 50 years (if you weren't around and conscious all during that time) or checking your memory of them (if you were).

Terkel's memory is not totally reliable. Neither is his view objective. He is proud of his bias. His use of irony is less than masterly and leaves him open to misinterpretation—particularly in his accounts of his resistance to the FBI in its most inquisitorial period.

But *Talking to Myself* is good reading and an illumination of history. In this reviewer's opinion, it is better reading and more valuable as history than any of his previous books.

—Ruth Moore

Ruth Moore comes from Chicago, but no longer lives there. An old acquaintance of Terkel's, she prefers to use a pseudonym here.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Open mouth policy hard to swallow

The bill passed last week by the House (IN THESE TIMES, April 13-19) to withhold public loan funds from governments violating human rights is another episode in the conflict between Congress and the Executive for control over American foreign policy.

It follows upon other recent foreign policy initiatives by Congress—the War Powers Act, the cut-off of funds for belligerency in Vietnam, the prohibition on intervention in Angola, and last year's prohibition (the Harkin Amendment) on Inter-American Development Bank, Agency for International Development and African Development Bank loans to governments violating human rights.

The latest bill, introduced by Rep. Herman Badillo (D-NY), seeks to extend that prohibition to all international agencies that the American government controls or in which it participates, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Export-Import Bank.

►Executive control grows.

As in the other cases, Congress is only beginning to react against the long trend of the executive branch to aggrandize control over foreign policy in the interests of the global strategies of multinational corporate-capital. In the control of public loan funds, executive control has mushroomed in just the past six years.

In 1971, of \$15.4 billion in foreign loan funds appropriated by Congress, half—\$7.7 billion—was subject to congressional controls. By 1976, Congress-controlled funds had fallen to 31 percent of the total, while executive-controlled funds had risen by 123 percent to \$17.2 billion, 69 percent of the total. Congress is now seeking, in a tenuously negative way, to regain some of its lost control.

There are other issues involved in the current struggle over foreign loan funds.

What is known as “foreign aid”—public funds granted or loaned abroad—has always been a device for financing exports (and jobs at home) and facilitating profitable private investment from the U.S. and other industrial countries to the poorer countries. It is the use of public funds in aid of corporate enterprise (just as with business subsidies at home); it is aid to the multinational corporations and banks in tying other countries' economies into the transnational capitalist system.

►Foreign aid is part of the problem.

In granting loans agencies like the World Bank and IMF require recipient governments to maintain an “environment” suited to private foreign investment and to develop internally along capitalist lines with the production of materials and goods exportable to the industrial countries.

Such “aid” usually imposes upon poor countries an unbalanced development unsuited to the needs of their people, and government tax favors to multinational corporations, meager social programs, anti-labor laws, suppression of opponents of such policies, and growing foreign indebtedness. The propertied classes in the poor countries share in the largesse, align themselves with international capital, and control the governments.

In the form of profits, interest and unfavorable terms of trade, net wealth flows from the poor countries to multinational corporations and banks in the rich, who become the real recipients of the “foreign aid.”

From 1967 to 1976 under this regime of “foreign aid” for corporate enterprise, poorer countries' international debt more than quadrupled from \$43.7 billion to near \$180 billion, of which about \$80 billion is held by private multinational banks.



Carter wants to have his rhetoric and eat it too. He cannot use foreign aid to extend corporate power abroad and at the same time champion human rights. . .

That debt is now threatening the whole transnational capitalist system of investment and trade, as well as the solvency of the private banks and the export opportunities of multinational corporations.

The multinationals want the “foreign aid” funds to flow as before with as little interference from the public as possible. These funds are essential to their normal profitable operations abroad. But they are all the more necessary now to bail the banks out of the acute debt situation, just as federal funds were necessary when the banks unloaded their New York City bonds to cover themselves against rotten real estate trusts and bad foreign debts.

►Harkin's argument.

Among the foreign debtors are countries like Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and South Korea, with governments engaged in continuing violations of human rights. Further loans to them would reinforce unpopular “austerity” measures and increase the need for suppression of any resistance.

As Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Ia.) said in the House last month, through the public financial agencies “the private banks can by proxy impose policies which would tend to insure repayment of their outstanding loans to poor countries.”

Such policies, Harkin continued, have “wreaked havoc on the social and political structures” of recipient countries. “Suppose the IMF decides...that a country must...drastically reduce government spending including liquidation of national enterprises [as in Chile and Peru], and freeze or restrict...real wages.... How does a regime enforce such conservative policies?...by repression—by union-busting, mass arrests, murder, torture, detention without change...by allowing an ‘acceptable’ level of hunger and unemployment.”

As Harkin further pointed out, these international lending agencies have played a major role “in bolstering regimes...repay-

ing international debt by any means necessary—including the destruction of legal and political institutions and all the violations of human rights....”

►The House stands its ground.

President Carter's first commitment is to the multinational corporate system in the face of which his human rights rhetoric must give way. He worked with House Banking committee chairman Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), and State and Treasury department officials to try to defeat the Badillo amendment.

He sent State department human rights coordinator Patricia Derian to the House committee to convince it to balance against the claims of human rights violations the acute “law and order” problems of Latin American governments like Argentina and Uruguay.

Carter sent assistant Treasury secretary C. Fred Bergsten to plead for “flexibility.” Too rigid a devotion to human rights would, as Carter told Reuss, “subvert the integrity and effectiveness” of the lending institutions.

What kind of integrity Carter had in mind we leave to his Christian conscience.

Harkin rejected a “flexibility to vote yes on loans to regimes which...are in consistent violation of human rights.” Badillo stood his ground, saying Carter's position “permits loans to be made to torturing dictators,” and that to retreat would “signal to the world that the words of President Carter have no meaning.”

Human rights concern has had an unintended impact. American corporations are complaining about losing markets and investment opportunities in Latin America and elsewhere to German and Japanese rivals.

Corporate executives like Du Pont chairman Irving S. Shapiro have advised Carter to cool it—the rhetoric is boomeranging because it “has been extremely successful” with the American people.

Another Christ in Washington, Robert Christ, vice-president of the International Bank, advises Carter to stop “grandstanding and playing to the American audience.” Too many in the grandstands, including Congress, are taking him seriously.

If Carter's rhetoric was meant to defuse the human rights movement in Congress, signaled last year by the Harkin amendment, it has not worked, though he may still succeed in stopping the Badillo amendment in the Senate.

►Having his words and eating them too.

The fact remains that Carter wants to roll back even the meager congressional restraints on foreign lending that the Ford administration labored under, and restore a free hand to the Executive.

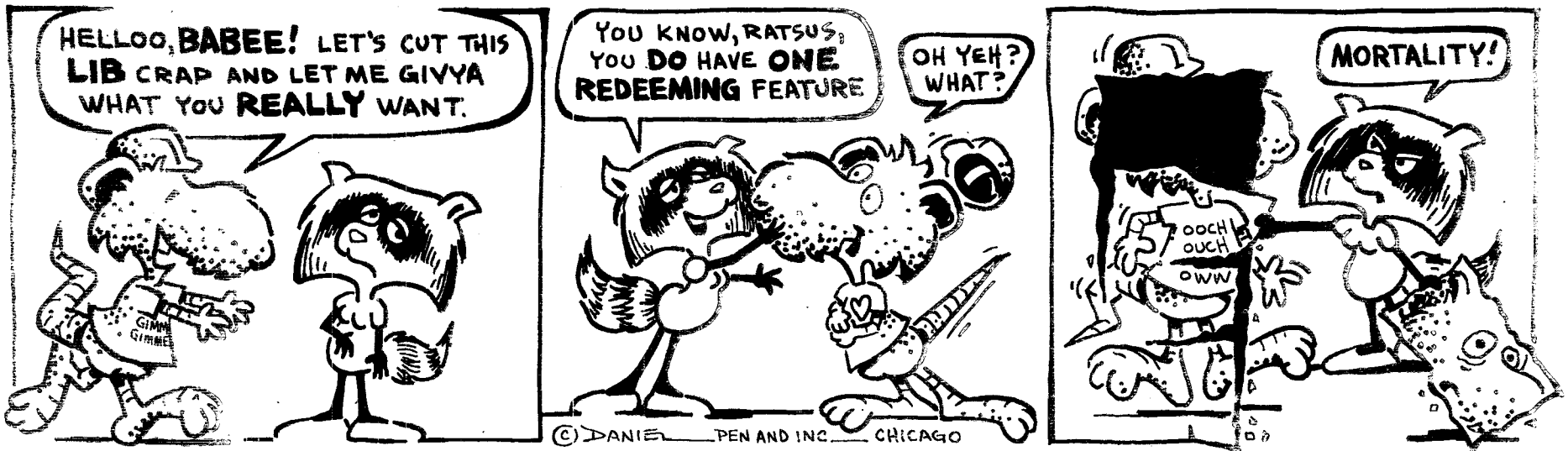
He wants to have his rhetoric and eat it too. But he cannot have a policy of protecting and extending multinational corporate-capitalism in the poor countries and at the same time a policy championing human rights there.

The Nixon team used to tell us: Ignore what we say, and watch what we do. Carter has turned around the Nixon adage to: Love what we say, and ignore what we do.

Socialists and people on the left should welcome this congressional initiative and help strengthen it. They should support such groups as the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which has played a major role in pressing for the Badillo amendment.

This latest incident shows that challenges in Congress to the corporate presidency raise public awareness about the nature of corporate imperialism, the similarities between corporate power abroad and at home, and the fundamental conflict between corporate power and human rights. It also shows that congressional action can interfere with and weaken the normal exercise of corporate power, all the more so should the congressional ranks of socialists and leftists grow. ■

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND RIFKA



(C) DANIEL PEN AND INC CHICAGO

Letters

ITT even looks good

Editor:

Enclosed please find a contribution to help you out.

It's very important to me that *ITT* keep publishing; I really depend on it for a comprehensive report on what's going on and why. And it looks good! Keep it up.

Jane Levine
Chicago

ITT, good and bad

Editor:

There is a good *ITT* and a bad *ITT*. The bad *ITT* has gotten plenty of my money already.

Now it's time for the good guys to get a piece of the action. Enclosed is a contribution.

Seriously, the paper is a breath of fresh air.

—John Farley
Tucson, Ariz.

Likes our sports

Editor:

Although I do not necessarily agree with some of the viewpoints expressed in your newspaper, Mark Naison's article concerning the National Basketball Association (*ITT*, March 16) was well written.

All too often fans complain about how players are bought, sold, traded, and so forth. What Mr. Naison brought to our attention is that public ownership of professional teams could be a rational course of action in the near future.

—George M. Coston
Albuquerque, N.M.

Less sex, more Ehrenreich

Editor:

Barbara Ehrenreich said it all for me!

Right on; write on. And I don't want to see any more sexploitation on the cover or inside.

Otherwise I rely on *ITT* to keep me informed and would like to support it by getting my friends to read it.

—J. Ferraro
Albany, N.Y.

Cheap come-on

Editor:

As socialists/feminists we protest the cover of *IN THESE TIMES* (March 16). You show no understanding of feminist politics with this cheap come-on, and no matter what your intent was or what you thought it was, this is what it amounts to. Male leftists who decry the

"separation" of women into an autonomous women's movement have no one but themselves to blame when they resort to such crass exploitation as displayed by your cover.

Socialism has to include an overall analysis of the various forms of oppression that now exist in order to create a truly just society. As long as socialists like yourselves show no more sensitivity and principle than this cover indicates, the "revolution" you are marching to will just be another band of boys overthrowing a more powerful band of boys. There's nothing in this for women. (Consistent with your lack of understanding of the importance of feminist politics is your sparse coverage of International Women's Day.)

In the Baltimore Women's Union there are at least 20 steady readers of *IN THESE TIMES*. You have managed to alienate all of us and placed yourselves in the position of not being trusted politically by us.

—E. Krell
Women's Union
Baltimore, Md.

Working woman

Editor:

At the risk of beating a dead horse, I want to express my disappointment after reading the numerous recent letters to the editor criticizing *IN THESE TIMES* for printing a photo of Faye Dunaway on the cover (March 16). It is disheartening that short sighted and narrow perceptions surface in our struggle against sexism in the media.

Charges of sexist use of women by any form of media are serious, and should not be trivialized, as done in these letters. There are at least two obvious points in favor of running the Dunaway photo.

First, the photograph was an excellent introduction to Ring Lardner's article on the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences, and their distinct bias at Oscar-time for American productions and artists. Dunaway's fine portrayal in *Network* of an ambitious, power-manipulating corporate executive won her the Oscar for Best Actress this year, but no less impressive was Liv Ullman's work in *Face to Face*, thought by some to be Dunaway's nearest "competition." Lardner's point, in part, was that the American would likely win as commercial interests are dearer to the film industry's hearts than is talent.

Secondly, the photograph was a still portrait of Dunaway's *Network* character, a woman whose sexuality is as strong and evident as her ambition. As socialists and feminists we have to both realize the complexities and encourage the development of the full human being, which includes sexuality. We have to see people and society as a whole, not as combinations of splintered, atomic particles. The sexuality of Dunaway's *Network* character was intricately linked to her drives for power, and it is a tribute to Dunaway's ability that she intertwined them so well.

These letters to the editor on sexism at *ITT* seem to be knee-jerk reactions to a photograph of a woman who, incidentally, happens to be working. Can't we move our public discussion of sexism

in the media to more meaningful levels. Are the problems of unequal employment and educational opportunities too mundane?

—Nancy Peer
Chicago

More Dunaway, less dowdy

Editor:

Congratulations are in order for the front cover of *IN THESE TIMES* (March 16) for providing its readers with the aesthetic impact of a truly attractive woman (Faye Dunaway), who is also an excellent actress. Unfortunately, Dunaway's acting abilities were not the subject of Ring Lardner Jr.'s article. *IN THESE TIMES* owes its readers an article about Dunaway and other women actresses, in the true feminist spirit the newspaper espouses.

Those who criticize the cover perpetuate an anti-feminism philosophy that alienates many women from the women's movement. A picture of a fully clothed Dunaway is hardly akin to the sexist literature that is available at most newsstands.

For Ehrenreich to suggest that women become "slobs," with the "New Dowdiness," thinking that this will undermine the male-dominated capitalist clothing industry, is absurd.

—Lisa Shade
Chicago

Less Dunaway, more sensitivity

Editor:

There's a lot of truth in the old adage, "You can't judge a book by its cover." Unfortunately, a lot of people—myself included—will judge *IN THESE TIMES* by its March 16 cover with the "sexy" (sexist?) image of Faye Dunaway, which had little relevance to the article on the Oscar awards by Ring Lardner Jr. It is just plain offensive for a socialist newspaper to use women's bodies to make its sales (not to mention being politically incorrect). Just as I was getting encouraged by some of your features on the women's movement (the anti-rape supplement, the series on "The FBI and the WLM," several good movie reviews, etc.), you come along with this. It's hard enough to explain to friends that while some of the articles and editorials aren't so hot, it's basically a good paper, but one can't explain away a whole cover. A little more sensitivity, please.

—Robert Shaffer
New Haven, Conn.

Less humans, more plants

Editor:

I've been simply appalled by your use of full-page cover photos of male politicians in the two most recent *ITT*s (April 13 and April 20). This calculated effort to portray males as political objects has got to stop.

We've come to expect such sales-boosting ploys from the bourgeois press like *Time* or *Newsweek*, but it is a sad day when *ITT* has to resort to pictures of Castro, etc., to fill cover space.

Please! No more males on covers! Nor females! This human chauvinism has got

to stop! Why no covers featuring plants, animals, insects or large bodies of water? We must struggle until the socialist press frees itself from such parochial speciesism.

—Jay Kinney
San Francisco

More Dunaway, more NAM

Editor:

The column by Roberta Lynch in your March 30 edition dealing with DSOC was excellent. It clearly and incisively analyzed DSOC and its political orientation. How about some coverage of the New American Movement?

I enjoyed the front page that featured Faye Dunaway but would like to see a follow-up article analyzing the political significance in the consciousness of some readers. It appeared an appropriate accompaniment to Ring Lardner Jr.'s fearless forecasts.

—Raymond R. Clemence Jr.
Houston

A vet passes the word

Editor:

In the *Chicago Tribune* (March 29, 1977) Mike Lavelle stated: Socialism is not a bad word. It has simply had some bad people represent it.

One can say the same thing about "democracy." Some bad and incompetent people represent our government. Take, for example, the Veterans Administration. Veterans in this country number 30 million. Combine this with their dependents, and the total is nearly one-half the U.S. population.

And yet, veterans aren't accorded the democracy that they represented when they went off to battle. In contending with the Veterans Administration, veterans do not have recourse to judicial review of VA decisions.

Under Section 211, Sub-Chapter 2, Title 38, U.S. Code, the Administrator of the Veterans Administration and those who assist him in the VA are the supreme powers, and none of his or his assistants' decisions can be presented to any court, if the veteran does not like the decision.

The largest veterans organizations, the American Legion, the VFW, the Disabled American Veterans and the Amvets do not support the bills that would render veterans judicial review.

The decision not to support these bills was not from the ranks of these organizations but was the decision of a small coterie of officials in the organizations' national headquarters. The rank and file were never allowed an opinion, or a vote. Are these democratic organizations in a democratic country? Hogwash.

Veterans have had a taste of various government leaders in four wars. They have their ideas of communist socialism through Russia and the Korean and Vietnam wars. We veterans fought for the beauties of democracy, but justice is missing when we present veteran-oriented problems to our democratic leaders.

If socialism is fair and works for everyone...why not? Democracy is sup-

More letters on next page.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the Law: unfair remedy for unfair representation



What happens to the union member who is wronged by both the company and the union?

Suppose the company violates the collective bargaining agreement. The member writes up a grievance but the union "forgets" to file it in time, or presents the case in a lackadaisical way, or takes the grievance through the first steps of the grievance procedure and then drops it before arbitration. Is there anything the member can do?

The answer is, Yes and No.

Under Section 301 of the Taft-Hartley Act, a member has a right to go into state or federal court to enforce a collective bargaining agreement against an employer. But there's a Catch-22. To get into court, the member must show that he or she was "unfairly represented" by the union.

The United States Supreme Court defined "unfair representation" in a case called *Vaca v. Sipes*, 386 U.S. 171 (1967). The plaintiff, Benjamin Owens, worked for Swift & Company in Kansas City. Owens suffered from high blood pressure and in mid-1959 took sick leave from Swift. His family physician certified him to resume work, but the company doctor refused to permit him to return, and the company finally discharged him for poor health.

Owens filed a grievance, which was processed to the last step before arbitration. The union then asked Owens to see another doctor. This examination did not support Owens' position. The union then

refused to take the grievance to arbitration, over Owens' objection. Owens then went to court. A jury awarded him damages.

The U.S. Supreme Court reversed. There is no right to sue the employer in court, the Court stated, unless the union is guilty of unfair representation. And the union is guilty of unfair representation only if its conduct is "arbitrary," discriminatory, or in bad faith." Simply dropping a grievance is not in itself unfair representation, the Court ruled.

►Black's dissent.

Justice Black wrote a blistering dissent. The employer, he wrote, "is allowed to hide behind, and is shielded by, the union's conduct." A union member like Owens is prevented from pursuing a meritorious claim against the company because the union has not shown bad faith. According to Black:

Either the employee should be able to sue his employer for breach of contractual remedies, or the union should have an absolute duty to exhaust contractual remedies on his behalf. The merits of an employee's grievance would thus be determined by either a jury or an arbitrator. Under today's decision it will never be determined by either."

Justice Black said that the "real reason" for the *Vaca* decision was that it would give unions more control over their members' grievances.

Accordingly, under *Vaca* a plaintiff must show, not merely that he or she at-

tempted to use the grievance-arbitration machinery, or that the union failed to process the grievance to arbitration, but something more: that the union's conduct was unfair. Even when there is merely an honest difference of opinion between plaintiff union member and his or her union representative as to whether a grievance is meritorious, the plaintiff must paint the union's sins in lurid colors in order to have a chance to recover from the employer.

For this reason *Vaca* has proved a very mixed blessing for unions themselves. The motivation of union counsel in urging on the Court the *Vaca* resolution was, no doubt, to give the union control over the processing of members' complaints. *Vaca* served to channel membership discontent into the grievance-arbitration machinery. But what *Vaca* also did was to require the union member who goes to court to inflate his or her claims against the union in order to show the unfair representation which is a condition precedent to an individual Section 301 suit.

►Benefits of a second look.

It follows that the unions as well as their disgruntled members have reason to look again at the alternative suggested by Justice Black in his *Vaca* dissent.

The position advocated by Black, dissenting in *Vaca*, is that an employee "must attempt use of the contract grievance procedure" and "must afford the union the opportunity to act on his behalf," but that, once having done so, he

or she should be free to go to court.

The ordinary grievant, under this proposal, would first turn to the contractual grievance-arbitration machinery. Why? Because the union will process the grievance free. Should the union decline to process the grievance to arbitration, the grievant would be free to turn to the courts.

The union would have less reason than at present to oppose this turn of events. Why? Because the law would not require the plaintiff to allege unfair representation by the union, and save in the exceptional case where the union's conduct was really opprobrious, the plaintiff would rarely have reason to join the union as a defendant.

The union could honestly say to the plaintiff: "We think it's a loser, but we wish you the best." And the plaintiff, in the typical case, could rejoin: "I think you're wrong, but it's a judgment call, and I hold no rancor."

It is difficult to see how these arrangements would be less conducive to industrial peace than the artificial hostility between members and unions induced by the *Vaca* requirement that plaintiffs allege unfair representation.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column appears regularly.

Readers interested in corresponding directly with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Court, Niles, Ohio 44446.

Can the PCI still be considered anti-capitalist?

By Victor Wallis

Rome. Italy is living through two crises at once: one of the established order, and the other of the left. Both crises have been intensified in the last few weeks, but the crisis of the left may well end up giving Italian capitalism a longer lease on life than had been expected.

Less than a year ago, Italy was in the midst of a parliamentary election campaign in which, with the previous year's local election results clearly in mind, it was possible to envisage a Communist plurality. While the Communist party (PCI) had long been projecting a moderate image, the prospect of an actual PCI plurality still suggested a chain of consequences which, with or without the PCI's encouragement, could have a revolutionary outcome.

This projection was, if anything, reinforced by the constituency to the left of the PCI; for although it had its own organizations, which formed their own electoral alliance, many of its members felt that a PCI-led government would mean more in terms of mass expectations than any likely number of their own deputies.

In short, while the PCI was certainly subject to left attacks, it still had to be acknowledged as the most significant political force of the left as a whole.

Now, however, all this has changed. The PCI came in a close second last June 20, with 35 percent of the vote and with enough seats in Parliament to unseat any cabinet it chose to; it chose, however, to permit the Christian Democrats to govern, in return for gaining an effective right to be consulted on any important measure.

With this step, that is, with its commitment not to vote against any important government proposal, the PCI became a tacit partner of the Christian Democrats, thereby raising the question of whether there remained any basis at all for consid-

ering it part of an anti-capitalist constituency.

►Situation temporary but deteriorating.

The PCI's own argument, in essence, is that the situation is temporary. As the economic crisis gets worse, the balance of forces will change; in the meantime, by cooperating with the Christian Democrats they make it possible to avoid a situation of chaos, to protect the working class movement from repression, and to lay the basis for an eventual "economic renewal" under their own leadership (the phrase "transition to socialism" tends to be avoided).

One way of characterizing the events of the last few weeks would be to say that this orderly scenario has been shattered. Whatever the PCI's long-range plans might be (and they are not without ambiguity), what has now come to the forefront is the immediate problems faced by the working class under worsening economic conditions.

The widespread conception (in the U.S.) that dealing with immediate needs implies avoiding revolutionary situations, has no basis in a country whose international economic position is as weak as that of Italy. In such a setting, the upholders of the status quo have no choice but to impose an austerity program, and this is in fact what the PCI has had to accept, as part and parcel of its non-opposition to the Christian Democrats.

For austerity, too, the PCI has an argument, namely, that shared hardship is likely to characterize any serious process of transformation. The problem comes, however, when one asks who is administering the austerity: if it's a government that responds to capitalist priorities, how can the hardship be "shared," and how can the working class—especially its unemployed sectors—even think that it is being shared?

These are the questions that account

for the new movement of revolt which is currently shaking Italy: a movement which has been defined from the outset by its opposition to the PCI as well as to the government.

►Students and youth move to left.

The revolt has found its cutting edge among students and youth, because, with the job-security rights gained by the trade unions, it is first-time job-seekers who suffer the greatest hardship. In addition, at the university level, the general economic/political setting has been aggravated by two further circumstances: on the one hand, a great broadening of the student population in the last few years, and on the other, the threat posed by a government reform bill aimed at "streamlining" the educational process.

The final stimulus to nationwide university takeovers came in early February, following an armed fascist assault upon a student assembly in Rome; the student response—a march on the neo-fascist party's headquarters—became the scene of a still unclear exchange of bullet-wounds traceable at least in part to plainclothes police. The ensuing weeks saw an increasingly sharp drawing of the lines on both sides, culminating in the national demonstration of March 12 in Rome. Throughout this period, the PCI appeared among the students only as an unwelcome outsider.

The present student upsurge is not the first rejection of PCI leadership on the left. It had its predecessor in the 1968 awakening: an event which directly or indirectly gave rise to the three major existing organizations of the revolutionary left (Manifesto, Avanguardia Operaia, and Lotta Continua). But the 1977 movement differs from that of 1968 in several respects.

In some ways the present movement is potentially more powerful. It comes at a worse economic moment, and its student

members are themselves more working class in their origins and prospects. A symbolically significant fact is that whereas in 1968 the students reached out to the organized workers, in 1977 a pace-setting sector of the union movement, the Metalworkers' Federation, reached out to the students by inviting student delegates to speak at their annual congress.

But the 1977 revolt also has its weaknesses. Its broader social roots, combined with the by-now total estrangement of the PCI, make the organizational tasks appear overwhelming. Two of the post-1968 organizations have suffered splits in this same recent period, reflecting—like the student movement itself—the difficulty of coming to terms with the new role of the PCI. In any case, there is no existing vessel into which the new upsurge can flow, and as a result, the risks of aimlessness, indiscipline and provocation are all too real.

►PCI compromise and disarray to the left.

The PCI is of course the first to point its finger at these dangers; it overlooks, however, the large measure of responsibility it has had in bringing them about. The connection emerges quite clearly from the context of the March 12 demonstration, in the course of which some participants (perhaps 200 out of over 50,000) carried out acts of violence (looting, burning, shooting) that were subsequently condemned by the major supporting groups.

The PCI, having remained at the margins (or even on the wrong end) of the mobilizations of the previous weeks, was in no position to offer its support to the planned demonstrations, even though the original call of Feb. 27 had targeted unemployment and the university reform bill as the main objects of protest.

Nor did the party add its voice a week later to the protest against a 9½-year prison sentence given to a member of Lotta

(Continued on page 17.)

More Letters

posed to work for everyone, but it doesn't for one-half our present population. Would it be different under a socialist government?

—Charles R. Gray
LaPorte, Ind.

Appreciates the quality

Editor:

On behalf of the staff of the Atlanta Rape Crisis Center, I would like to voice an appreciation to your paper for publishing "Rape: What's Being Done to Stop It" (*ITT*, March 9). Unfortunately there are not many articles which examine the violent crime of rape with the dignity, quality and sensitivity of the one written by Judy MacLean. I only wish that more media personnel had the progressive stance that *IN THESE TIMES* has on such crucial issues as rape.

—Sandra Vaughan
Rape Crisis Center
Atlanta, Ga.

Fled, not driven

Editor:

T.D. Allman has now twice repeated the lie that the Israeli's drove the Arabs out of their homes in 1948 (*ITT*, March 23, 30, April 6). In that year Arab attacks on Jewish civilians were commonplace. However, the Jewish defense groups concentrated upon military targets in response to the Arab attacks to prevent implementation of the Nov. 24, 1947, UN resolution. The Arab exodus began with the upper and middle class Arabs to avoid the unpleasantness that armed struggle brings. Later, frightened Arabs fled at the urging of their leaders.

This is documented in recently released 1948 dispatches from American Consul Aubrey Lippencott in Haifa which state repeatedly that the Jews were urging the Arabs to remain. T.D. Allman himself provides evidence that the Arabs fled and were not driven. He quotes a Palestinian resident of Jerusalem: "We will never flee and leave them empty lands to claim as their own." "We will never repeat the mistakes...of 1948." Is there any other country which treats

minority members, with whom they have recently been at war, so well that, according to Allman, "the danger always exists of the Palestinian members of the Knesset gaining the balance of power"?

—Jacob Pomerantz
Silver Spring, Md.

U.S. colonial system

Editor:

Williams, Parrini, LaFeber and Gardner presented an excellent overview of the "Lone Ranger's" foreign policy (*ITT*, March 23). The name of the Lone Ranger's friend, Tonto (Nixon) translates from the Spanish language into English as the "fool," adding that touch of irony so well associated with the Kissinger/Nixon legacy.

One aspect of America's empire during the Kissinger era overlooked by these historians was the institutionalization of the United States colonial system. This came about when "Commonwealth" status was bestowed upon Guam and the Marianas. Based on the case example of Puerto Rico these colonies, according to the popular "Commonwealth" myth, now have rights which free and independent nations enjoy but none of the liabilities, and at the same time benefit from economic advantages heretofore allowed only to states of the federal union.

Soon these colonies will realize that unless total independence is achieved, "Commonwealth" status is little more than a disguise for perpetual colonialism.

While Puerto Rico and Panama have received coverage by the new left, little at all has been written on the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa or the Trust Territories of the Pacific. Historians of the American empire must recognize this crucial reality for new historical research. Only then will we understand the modern American empire.

Cristobal S. Berry-Caban
Milwaukee, Wis.

High-price solution

Editor:

I read your editorial, "The unnatural uses of natural gas" (*ITT*, March 16). I agree that the recent "shortage" of natural gas clearly demonstrates the "incompatibility of the profit system with the social needs of the people." I also could agree that "the public own and develop natural gas according to social

need," provided we agreed on the definition of social need.

However, I would disagree with your concept of social need. In addition to public ownership, measures aimed at reducing consumption of non-renewable fuels might better fit the long-term social needs of the public, especially future generations.

Your editorial poses the rhetorical question, "Why should the people be called upon to make sacrifices when it is their gas that is being withheld and for which they are being outrageously overcharged?" I believe you are confusing the anti-social profit orientation of the corporations with what may be the only means of slowing wasteful consumption: high prices. A tax on heavy consumers could be used to subsidize utilization of non-expendable resources such as the wind and the sun.

Public ownership of natural gas (and other non-renewable forms of energy) would cut out the "pusher," but would not stop the "addiction."

—Bill Myers
Evanston, Ill.

North Dakota's state bank

Editor:

While I appreciated James Rowen's "North Dakota's answer—a state-owned bank" (*ITT*, April 6) for its positive evaluation and accurate assessment of the role of the Bank of North Dakota, a couple of points about the Bank should be made.

First, the Bank is not now an accepted part of life here. Every biennial session of our legislature since 1919 has seen moves to cripple or destroy the institution. The 1977 session narrowly defeated a bill which would have forced the Bank to refuse all private savings and checking accounts. Conservatives in North Dakota remain unalterably opposed to the concept of a state-owned bank.

Second, the influence of the Bank is limited. Although the public deposits give it great potential, the administration has been most reluctant to extend the Bank's power. It has no branch banks, though there is a need in the more rural areas of North Dakota; it has never obtained the power to grant personal loans, thus forcing its private depositors to go elsewhere (mostly to credit unions); and it has definitely not slowed the influx of chain banks into the state. The Bank has great potential but does not use it. Perhaps half of

North Dakota's population does not know their state operates a bank and have no idea of the benefits coming from it.

The Bank of North Dakota could be doing much more for the people than it is. But don't get the wrong idea—my North Dakota chauvinism isn't hurt one bit by the reports of out-staters coming here for advice about their financial problems!

I very much enjoy *ITT*. I hope you'll increase your coverage of the Northern Plains.

—Larry Remele
Bismark, N.D.

A grievous confusion

Editor:

Staughton Lynd's column has been preoccupied recently with union contract grievance procedures. He has dealt with the apparent surrender of individual worker right to persecute their grievances to higher levels at which the union controls the grievance. And he has attacked unions that fail to pursue well-founded grievances. Regrettably, he confuses these two issues, and thereby does the labor movement a disservice.

The need for union control of grievance arises from the inherently unequal relations of production. If each worker could decide on the movement of his grievance, the union would be defenseless against adverse contract principles.

For instance, many contracts have a "relative ability" clause in which seniority governs as long as those involved have relatively equal ability. A worker may grieve denial of a promotion when he believes the senior bidder who got it was far less able than himself. Fortunately, union control of the grievance procedure at higher steps allows suppression of such a grievance.

Moreover, individuals carrying their own grievances would be easy prey for the bosses, and would lend themselves to the full range of divide-and-conquer strategies.

In point of fact, there are no individual rights surrendered by union control of the grievance mechanism, because none exist prior to collective bargaining.

Just because some unions don't process grievances properly (and *that* is a subject worth discussing with an eye to reform) doesn't mean we should throw out the baby with the bath water.

—Paul Booth
Chicago

Wallis

Continua for "moral complicity" in the shooting death of a rightist for which the actual culprit could not be found. Finally, on the day of the march, the PCI expressed no objection when the government ordered the police to block the demonstrators' requested (and normally granted) parade-route through the center of Rome.

In effect then, the provocations have come from both sides. The PCI, in its eagerness to remain in good graces with the Christian Democrats, has missed a major new mobilizing opportunity; those whom it has ignored have been a prey to disorganization and possibly also to provocateurs; and the PCI in response, finally, has tried to identify the entire sector to its left with "hoodlum" elements, thereby confirming its own role as—in the words of Central Committee member Paolo Bufalini (*l'Unita*, March 15)—"one of firm defense of the democratic order and of solidarity with the police forces which defend the democratic order and public order." Thus, when the lines are drawn, the "historic compromise" strategy takes the form of "Support your local police." Perhaps in its effort to avoid violence (if that was its aim), the PCI has succeeded only in shifting the battlefield. It's a momentous shift, however, if capitalism is no longer the enemy.

Victor Wallis teaches political science at Indiana University, Indianapolis, and is currently living in Rome.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

CRIME & PUNISHMENT

SWAT squads:
Waging War
at home

By David Helvarg

A code 11 goes out on the radio. A SWAT team is needed in Oceanside where a 21-year-old "white male suspect" has barricaded himself in a house with a .22 rifle and three hostages. The San Diego sheriff's SWAT team arrives and sets up a perimeter. A green light is given, "shoot to kill if an opportunity presents itself."

The father of the hostages, three small girls, tries to explain to the police that the suspect is a friend and house-guest of his. He won't hurt the girls. He's just freaked out. If the police will just withdraw from the area he thinks that he can talk him out. But it's too late. Shots have been fired and the SWAT has been committed.

Neighborhood youths, friends of the suspect and the family, begin milling on the street behind the police lines. One of them, a 15-year-old "long haired hippie type" by the name of Leland Phelps manages to get onto the front lawn where he converses with his friend David Terrel, through the livingroom window.

Two of the girls leave the house as the siege continues into the afternoon. After several hours it begins to rain.

Phelps enters the house. Terrel tells him to go to the kitchen and get a cookie for the third girl. As he passes by a window he comes into the sights of a SWAT deputy who, mistaking him for the suspect, squeezes off a round from his AR-15 assault rifle.

Leland, hit in the chest, recoils, staggers through the front door, collapses on the sidewalk and dies. A moment later there is a second shot. The third little girl walks out the front door. "David shot himself," she says.

Charlie Terrel, trying to get to his brother's body, is wrestled to the ground and held at gunpoint by the SWAT.

Two days later 200 local teenagers form a car caravan to a nearby sheriff sub-station. There are riot-equipped deputies inside the building but they have been told to avoid a confrontation if at all possible. A young woman of about 16 or 17 walks up to the side of the building with a can of spray-paint. In large block letters she writes: "Leland Phelps would be alive today if not for trigger-happy pigs!"

That night a nervous San Diego sheriff John Duffy goes on TV to defend the SWAT. "You need SWAT units in law enforcement," he says, "specialized men who can go in and do the job, ahh... it's just like taking a hooch in a Vietnamese village."

►A product of the Vietnam war.

Police SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) units are a product of the Vietnam war. They got their start in Los Angeles in the summer of '67 at the height of the black insurrections. Assistant Chief of Police Daryl Gates, a retired Marine officer, first conceived of the idea of a special team "to provide protection for officers engaged in crowd control" and "neutralize guerilla and terrorist organizations through the application of military control models." Right-wing Chief of Police Ed Davis approved the idea. Recruitment priority was to be given to volunteers with Vietnam combat experience.

The men were trained at the U.S. Marine Corps Reconnaissance Commando (RECONDO) school at Camp Pendleton, Calif. It was here, in the heady days of

"search and destroy" that the Los Angeles SWAT officer-in-charge first began to conceive of themselves as a "counter-insurgency" elite within the larger "municipal" police force.

"We're primarily a cadre," explained SWAT lieutenant Bob Smitson in a 1975 *L.A. Times* interview, "each of our teams have received over 1,000 hours of instruction in subjects such as guerilla warfare, scouting and patrol, night operations, camouflage and concealment, combat in cities, first aid, ambush and chemical warfare."

In 1971 L.A. SWAT quit the Marine base after acquiring their own Hollywood back-lot, which they then converted into a life-size shooting gallery for monthly war games and training seminars.

►A military unit.

The basic unit in SWAT is the five-man team (although the Atlanta SWAT recently accepted its first woman member). Each team is made up of a team leader, marksman, observer, scout and rear-guard. The team leader controls all facets of the tactical operation. He is usually armed with an AR-15 (the semi-automatic version of the M-16). The marksman acts as sniper and carries a high-power bolt action rifle with scope. The observer spots for the marksman and provides cover. He also carries an AR-15. The scout, also armed with an AR-15, conducts advance reconnaissance work. The rear-guard covers the rear with a 12-gauge riot-pump shotgun. He also doubles as grenadier when gas is being used.

Each SWAT "soldier" is dressed in a dark military-style jump-suit, combat boots, black baseball cap, with a first aid kit, gloves and gas-mask. In addition they each carry either a service revolver or 9mm automatic in a shoulder holster. Other equipment—repelling ropes, grappling hooks, gas grenades, night-viewing scopes, machine guns and the like—is kept in a special armored van, which acts as the SWAT command center.

By the end of the '60s the SWAT concept had traveled east across the country, fueled largely by inter-departmental jealousies and the availability of big money grants for military hardware through the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The FBI established SWAT teams in all its major offices and initiated a SWAT training program at its national police academy outside Washington, D.C. The Army provided SWAT officers with training in weapons, tactics and civil disturbance suppression at its Research Institute in Fort Belvoir, Va., and its Military Police School at Fort Gordon, Ga. The U.S. Marshal's office established a SWAT-type paramilitary group known as the Special Operations Group (SOG) in 1971, which saw action during the second battle of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973 where it helped fire off over half a million rounds of government ammunition at the encircled AIM forces.

►Los Angeles "battles."

L.A. SWAT's first "battle" with the "enemy" took place on the morning of Dec. 9, 1969. At 5:30 in the morning 140 police surrounded the Black Panther party headquarters at 41st Street and Central Avenue, allegedly to serve a warrant. With SWAT snipers providing cover, four officers in flak jackets and helmets broke

down the door with a battering ram. Confronted with the invasion force, the people inside either opened or returned fire (depending on the version).

In the shooting that followed, three Panthers and three SWAT officers were wounded. Over the next four hours police mobilized over 500 men, borrowed an APC tank from the National Guard and tried to blow holes in the roof of the building with dynamite. At 9:45 a.m. 13 Panther men and women surrendered to police. Two years later, a Los Angeles jury acquitted them of all serious charges arising out of the shoot-out.

Over the next five years L.A. SWAT received over 100 call-ups, but none of these matched the intensity of the '69 Panther shoot-out until "Operation SLA" on May 17, 1974.

It was this confrontation, televised live and in color on the West Coast, that brought SWAT into public consciousness. Within six months there was a TV serial (that police condemned for presenting SWAT as "too violent") with a theme song that went on to become a top disco hit. There were magazine articles, action dolls, toy guns and board games.

►Black community considered hostile territory.

One of the interesting aspects of the SLA shoot-out was the attitude of the police toward the black community of Southeast Los Angeles in which the shooting occurred. Although the police had helicopters and SWAT units in the area for over an hour before the shooting began, they never considered evacuating the area. "If we'd started a mass evacuation, there's no way someone wouldn't have tipped off the SLA," admitted one police officer.

Like the troops in Vietnam, the cops in L.A. do not like to get caught in hostile territory after dark. The first surrender order was issued at 5:44 p.m. A few minutes later the SWAT opened up with gas and the shooting began. Although there were "only" 29 L.A. SWAT and 7 FBI SWAT engaged in actual weapons fire against the SLA, over 400 additional police were needed to provide crowd-control on the perimeter of the siege area.

Thousands of black area residents were in the streets during the course of the 90-minute battle. "Unidentified people in the crowds were throwing bottles and rocks at police personnel on perimeter control... There were many officers requesting assistance," according to the LAPD report on the shootout. Clearly, fear of the community in which the shoot-out occurred was a motivating factor in the decision to go for a quick kill.

In the wake of the shoot-out Captain Frank Brittell, of the Metro Division that oversees SWAT tried to shine up his commandos image a bit by saying: "That six to nothing score has to be attributed to something more than luck, because [the SLA] had us outgunned and the advantage of being inside."

Despite the denial of a SWAT request for fragmentation grenades, SWAT had been able to arm itself that day with two M-16 machine guns, two MP-40s (the "Schmeisser," a favorite of the Waffen SS during World War II), 17 Armalites, two .243 sniper rifles, a dozen shotguns, gas guns, etc. It had fired off over 5,000 rounds of ammunition and 80 tear gas canisters into a house measuring less than 30x80 feet. It was the tear gas canisters that caused the fire that incinerated the bodies of the six Symbionese Liberation Army members killed that day.

►A "viable" model?

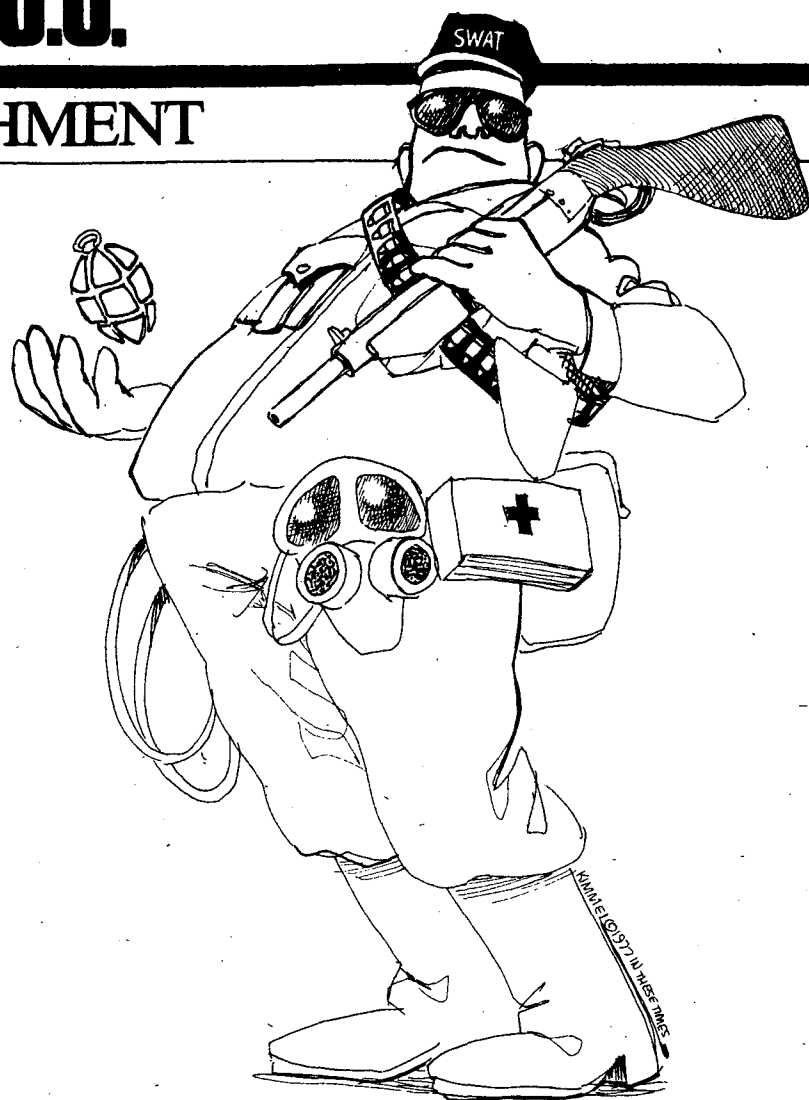
Today over 1,500 law enforcement agencies, from Montana county sheriff's departments to small town Kansas police departments, can claim their own "SWAT capability." Despite occasional embarrassments like the August 1975 shoot-out in the Casablanca section of Riverside, Calif., where armed Chicano vets forced L.A. and Riverside SWAT units to retreat under fire after downing one of their helicopters, the SWAT model is still considered "viable" among the movers and shakers in the criminal justice biz.

"The goal of SWAT is to protect lives and property" says the Special Weapons Manual of Organization, Operations and Training. "SWAT achieves this goal through the merger of police and military strategies under those conditions which require specialized tactics."

Some might question how this corresponds with the vision of the nation's founders who talked of separating military and police functions. Nor does it jive with the Kerner Commission report on Civil Disorders, which, among its recommendations to law enforcement personnel, suggested that, "automatic and military type weaponry has no place in built up urban areas."

In the wake of the SLA shoot-out, the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners commended the SWAT for its ability to "engage and neutralize hostile forces in an all-out fire fight." The only question that remains is this: Do we want our police engaging in "all out fire-fights" on the streets of our cities?

David Helvarg is a free-lance writer in San Diego.



BUSINESS

Waging guerilla war for business on the campus

Merchandizing the capitalist gospel is hardly a novel aim. What makes this effort different is the target, the liberal campus community.

By Jacqueline Thompson
Pacific News Service

Smarting from scandals involving everything from foreign bribery to illegal campaign contributions to environmental disasters, American business in the post-Watergate era has watched its popularity plunge dramatically in major opinion polls. Now groups of concerned businessmen are attempting to polish up their tarnished image with a unique solution. They are underwriting "chairs of private enterprise" at colleges and universities.

Prof. Michael H. Mescon, chief drummer for the movement, says the purpose is to enlist college professors like himself as "articulate spokesmen for basic economic, political and moral principles... to conduct guerilla warfare with those who propagandize against the system."

Mescon, who holds the original chair of private enterprise, at Georgia State University in Atlanta, calls his campaign to create such chairs from coast to coast "a national capitalist revolution."

Critics of the movement claim it's yet another propaganda war on socialism and communism. But Mescon, objecting strongly to the "anti-approach," emphatically denies the charge. He wants the campaign to accentuate the positive side of capitalism, which he defines as "a culture, a style, a way of life."

"In the field of sales and salesmanship, it is relatively easy to spot the amateur," Mescon explains. "He spends 90 percent of his time berating his competition because he lacks, or just can't communicate, basic knowledge of his product."

"What is true for selling things is also true for selling ideas. The product, be it private enterprise or automobile tires, cannot be sold by simply running down the competition. It must be sold on its own merits."

► Responsive chord in conservative areas.

Mescon contends that too many of today's young adults are "economic illiterates" who think "profit" is a dirty word. He blames the American educational system. Through the chairs, he hopes to convince young people that "being an entrepreneur is just as challenging as being an astronaut."

The idea seems to have struck a responsive chord, particularly in the more conservative regions of the country. So far, professorships have been funded at 13 schools—eight in the South, four in the Midwest and one in the East. Over 10 more chairs are in the works, but they will not have much effect on the geographic mix.

The chairs are typically sponsored by a consortium of local business and professional associations, fraternal groups and corporations. They are generally awarded to tenured economics, history or business professors whose personal politics happen to coincide with the traditional outlook of the sponsoring organizations.

The existing chairs carry names like the Goodyear Executive Professor of Business Administration at Kent State University; the Executive Directorship of the Southwest Foundation for Free Enterprise at Southern Methodist University; and the Justin Potter Distinguished Chair of American Competitive Business at Vanderbilt University. Aside from a few large state universities, most colleges with such professorships are small or medium sized.



Merchandizing the capitalist gospel is hardly a novel aim. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and Junior Achievement here at home, and the U.S. Information Agency abroad, have been hawking their ideological wares for years.

► Target: liberal professors and students.

What makes the current effort different is the target: liberal college professors and their students.

As early as 1971, Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell gave the movement its rationale in a memo to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Referring to the assault on the private enterprise system, he wrote, "Although its origins, sources and causes are complex and interrelated, there is reason to believe that the campus is the single most dynamic source."

Local, regional and national polls have supported Powell's view. They have indicated that, aside from Ralph Nader, the most influential critics of capitalism, as it is now practiced in the U.S. have been left-wing academics.

Alarmed by the drift on campus, the country's more conservative professors are ripe for monetary offers from business to "tell the other side of the story."

"The disdain for business frequently found in the academic environment and the depicting of the businessman as a vulgar purveyor of goods and services is more than a little disturbing," says Dr. Mescon. What he and those supporting the movement find most disturbing of all is the prospect of these "misguided" ultra-liberal professors imbuing a whole generation of young Americans with their own prejudices and distrust of the capitalist

system.

The "misguided" professors, their ideological opponents, also have some apprehensions, but of a different nature. They see a conflict of interest in the funding scheme, likening it to a Faustian exchange. To them, the chairs symbolize the erosion of academic freedom and integrity.

Mescon and his colleagues disagree. They think it's about time corporations had a voice on campus. "I think there's been a certain popularity, especially among academic people, quite frankly, to bite the hand that's been feeding them," he points out.

► Atlanta origins.

The seed of the free enterprise chairs was planted in 1963 when a group of Atlanta entrepreneurs decided to back a chair at Georgia State University. They found the perfect capitalist crusader in Dr. Mescon. The short, stocky, cigar-smoking young professor came to the job equipped with a crew cut, an A.B. and M.A. from the University of Miami and a Ph.D. in human relationships from New York University.

But the idea got off to a slow start. For years, Mescon's impact was purely local. Then, three years ago, word of Mescon and the chair began to spread via a publicity campaign that included the distribution of a bimonthly newsletter to interested schools and potential sponsors.

The exposure, coming at a time when radical politics was dying out on campuses but a new generation of radical professors educated in the turbulent '60s was emerging, set in motion a bandwagon effect from which Mescon still hasn't recovered. He now delivers several hundred lectures a year to groups all over the country, has seen his articles published in nationally circulated magazines and has hosted two Chair of Private Enterprise conferences, which are now convened annually.

The last conference attracted more than 80 representatives from schools intending to establish chairs and from corporations, business groups and foundations willing to finance them.

Jacqueline Thompson is a New York-based free-lance writer who covers business.

Private property: who can celebrate?

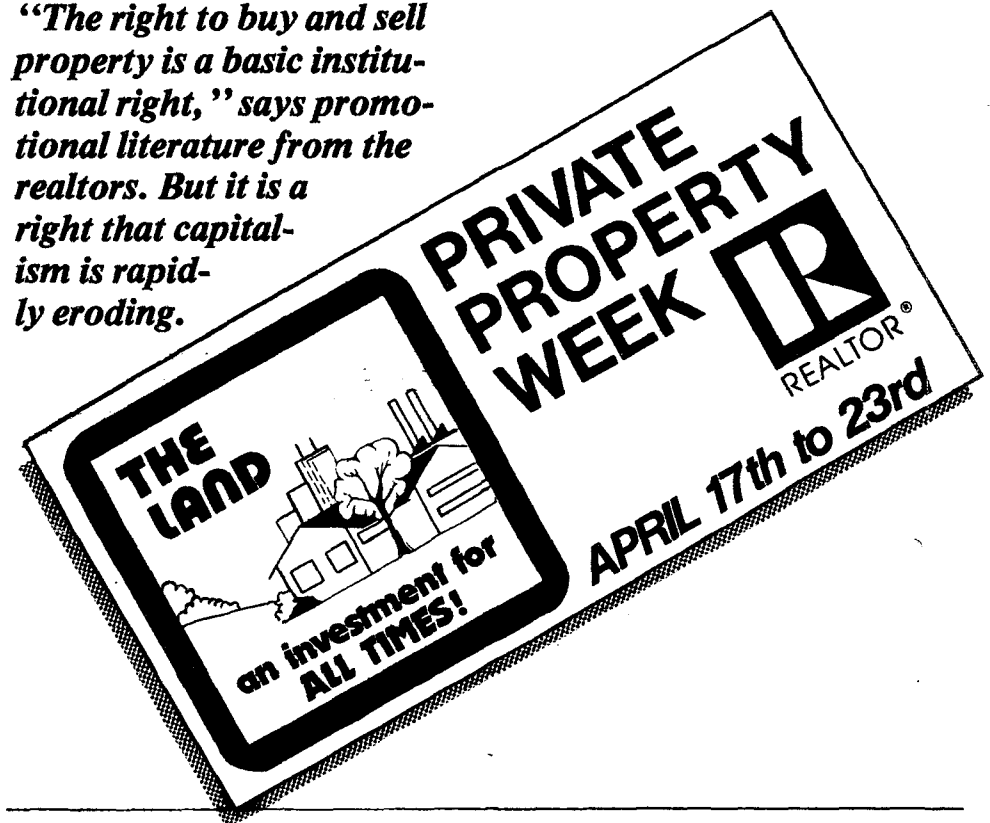
April 17-23 is Private Property Week and celebrations will be going on around the U.S. sponsored by the 500,000 members of the National Association of Realtors. "The right to buy and sell property is a basic constitutional right," says promotional literature from the realtors.

It's a right that a capitalist economy is rapidly eroding, according to a recent study of housing by the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies. That report predicted that by 1981 the price of an average new home would go up to \$78,000—out of the range for the majority of Americans. By that time "only the most affluent American families will be able to own a new house," said the study. Even today, only 27 percent of Americans can afford to buy a new house, as compared to 46.6 percent just six years ago, the study pointed out.

As for other kinds of private property, four percent of the U.S. population now owns 37 percent of the wealth of the population. At the other end of the scale, 80 percent of the population makes do with only 25 percent of the wealth of the nation; and at the bottom half of that group, 40 percent of America has only 2.3 percent of the wealth.

What's really dear to the heart of every realtor, of course, is not so much the owning of property but the right to buy and sell it, and that's what the association is actually asking us to celebrate. It's an American tradition, they say. "Many famous early Americans, including George Washington, engaged in land speculation, which was not considered

"The right to buy and sell property is a basic institutional right," says promotional literature from the realtors. But it is a right that capitalism is rapidly eroding.



an unworthy occupation," they point out.

They also invite America to join in celebrating such events in the annals of private property as the federal government grant of 47 million acres of land in 1864 to Philadelphia financier Jay Cooke as an "incentive" to build a railroad linking Minnesota with the West Coast. By 1917, Cook's railroad, North-

ern Pacific, had made \$136 million from land sales, while railroad construction had cost only \$70 million.

Although realtors regret that Private Property Week comes but once a year, they are pledging that they'll "continue to celebrate this right" in their work, "every day of the year."

Steel settlement

(Continued from page 3.)



tional and local agreements already settled would be up for grabs if the contract was rejected and issues were sent to arbitration.

Supporters of defeated presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski opposed the contract, but they denied having organized the protest vote. "We didn't have to caucus," Jim Balanoff, Sadlowski's successor as director of the Chicago-Gary district of the union, said. "You don't have to be bright to know that contract's no good. People were bitter. They felt sold out."

The contract provides 80 cents an hour in wage increases spread over the three-year contract. There were some increased skill differentials in pay and a renewal of the \$150 cash bonus for continuing the ENA, which will now operate through 1980. Counting incentive pay and overtime, workers in basic steel now make an average of \$8.02 an hour. The contract provides a 3.9 percent annual wage increase, plus a cost-of-living clause that recovers 80 percent of earning power lost to inflation.

By the time loss of earnings from inflation is considered, the real wage gains will be very slightly more than 3 percent annual increase guaranteed by the steel corporations in exchange for the no-strike agreement. It is, however, slightly below last fall's restrained auto settlement.

► Little progress on lifetime security.

The big promise for this contract was "lifetime job security." What came out was an extension of the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit plan that mainly aids workers with more than 20 years seniority. These high-seniority workers now will be eligible for two years, rather than one year, of SUB payments. The company, and not just the SUB fund, will stand behind that pledge.

The catch is that workers must be willing to accept "appropriate work" in their home factories or "suitable long-term employment" at another mill in order to receive the second-year SUB. Workers with 20 years seniority will also be entitled to an early pension if their plant shuts down, assuming that their age and years of service add up to 65.

Other benefit changes include a strengthening of the SUB fund, higher pensions, some eye care and increased insurance coverage. Preliminary estimates

by the company put the increased labor costs over the three-year contract at more than 30 percent.

President-elect Lloyd McBride called it an "excellent settlement" and a "major step" toward job security. His opponent, Ed Sadlowski, said that the agreement was "very inequitable," a result of the "inequities of the ENA, where you have to collectively beg rather than collectively bargain." Real job security would have frozen crew sizes or otherwise prevented massive layoffs during the course of the contract, he indicated.

► Subcontracting an issue.

Critics of the new contract attacked its failure to stop sub-contracting of jobs while steelworkers are laid off, to set higher standards for cancer-endangered coke over workers (or to provide earlier retirement), to change incentive payment rates on job classifications that now yield low incentive pay, and to strengthen safety provisions. Balanoff attacked the contract for dropping both insurance benefits for newly hired workers during their 13-week probationary period and vacation pay traditionally given to widows.

Corporate practices of bringing in outside maintenance contractors while skilled members of the Steelworkers union are laid off was an especially touchy issue with many locals. The agreement on subcontracting, which was one of the last reached, set up a review commission to report back in 1979. In the meantime, skilled workers will be paid for 40 hours each week if there are outside contractors in the shop, but they must be willing to take job assignments outside of their normal unit.

► Management gets more flexibility.

That is one of a number of provisions in the contract that provide income security to workers but give management more flexibility in assigning people to jobs. Paul Kaczocha, president of the 5,200-member Bethlehem Steel local in Burns Harbor, Ind., feared that the subcontracting provision would "break down seniority units," permitting the company "to spread the worker more, to use him more." The provision could thus backfire, Kaczocha said, and lead to a speed-up and loss of jobs.

McBride's proposal during the union presidential campaign to make workers "innocent until proven guilty" in the grievance procedure was dropped completely. However, all discharges must be resolved within 60 days under the new contract or else go to arbitration. That may prevent long, drawn-out grievance disputes but also strengthen the hand of arbitrators. The contract also provides for the first time a penalty against the company for last-minute schedule changes. Iron ore miners, clerical workers, coke over workers and some of the more rebellious big steel locals were the

main opponents of the new contract. Linus Wampler, the newly elected director of the district covering the Northern Plains states, said, "I didn't think the contract was good enough for the iron ore workers." They wanted their wages to be brought in line with basic steel, now roughly 70 cents an hour ahead of them. Also, they wanted the pay that they now receive as an end-of-the-year "attendance bonus" incorporated in their regular wages and not tied to attendance.

► Local strikes likely.

"I'm almost positive there will be local strikes," Wampler said. Many locals will try to change the attendance bonus and other improvements on their own. Strike votes may be taken after June 10 if issues remain unresolved.

Wampler also criticized the modest wage increase, the renewal of ENA ("it takes the fight out of the union man"), and the job security provision, which he thought should have started after four or five years on the job rather than 20.

It remains to be seen if the international will grant locals strike authorization at the end of July if the remaining thousands of local issues still haven't been settled. The inadequacies of the national contract will spur many locals to press their demands hard. Kaczocha, for ex-

ample, hopes to revise his plant's incentive pay arrangements, to set more restrictive safety standards for the dangerous coke ovens, to reduce subcontracting and to push other demands on discipline and treatment of women and minorities. Many of those issues had been sidestepped at the national level.

"I don't think anyone cares to force a confrontation on local issues, but if the company doesn't want to play ball, I'll do what I have to do."

Clerical workers, angered partly by the contract's weakness in preventing companies from reclassifying union members' jobs as salaried, managerial, non-union jobs, will also have strong local demands.

Although steel production has dropped during the past two years, many companies have reported high profits. However, the industry has compounded some of its difficulties by raising prices to cover costs that increased because much plant capacity sat idle. Now, the corporations complain, imports may become more of a threat again.

More than economic pressures, however, it was the lack of a strike threat, a cautious national union leadership and a general wave of timidity in union demands that explain the limits to Steelworkers' gain.

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SPORTS

Age-handicapped marathon a big hit

By Jack Russell

Running well, I had been leading Olympic champion Frank Shorter since the very beginning of the race. But as I rolled up one of the few small hills in the road course I could hear Shorter's footfalls coming from behind. As we crested the rise together he blew by me and was gone around a bend.

I'll bet half the runners who ever jogged around the local park have fantasized such a moment. I certainly had. Viewing sport or doing sport, we seek some bond with the best. So on April Fool's Day I took my quixotic self to Michigan City, Ind., where the next morning, at the U.S. Track and Field Federation National Age Handicap Championship, I could make my novice's reveries real.

Never mind that my two second duel with Frank Shorter came in the first 500 meters of the 15,000 meter race, nor that I'd been leading him *only* because I had a 29 second headstart, nor that he swept by me with several score other racers out of my league. I had my moment of vicar-

ious glory. Better yet, I and 500 other distance runners had an opportunity to pioneer an event that may make competition in our sport still more accessible to men and women of all ages.

Distance running, says *Sports Illustrated*, "is becoming virtually the U.S. national amateur sport." Hundreds of thousands have begun running because of the substantial health benefits (cardiovascular strength, weight reduction) because it's inexpensive (25 bucks for excellent shoes) and because there are no age barriers. Grade school children and men in their 70s have finished marathons: women from 13 to 45 have run the classic distance in under three hours. Nearly all local races feature age group divisions and awards as well as the Open category.

Until now, however, the good masters (40-49) and veterans (50-59) have fought out their age group battles in the midst of the pack while the "best" racers, mostly in their 20s, have been the front runners. In a sport that does honor its elders, separate has still not been "equal."

Left, the 70-year-old winner, Ray Sears. Below, the first woman runner, Mary Czarapata, 41.

Ed Blume



►Is faster better?

But is the faster, younger runner truly better? Records of past performance indicate that male distance racers peak in their late 20s and decline gradually thereafter, assuming consistent training. Yet one can argue that the "better" competitor may well be the older person whose training, tactics and courage yield a superior performance for his or her age.

To compare racers across a span of years in a way that fairly measures their relative quality, a huge volume of performance data must be assembled, analyzed and translated into some system of equivalents.

Enter Ken Young, a witty astrophysicist and distance runner from Tucson, Ariz. Young's labor of love, the National Running Data Center, processed information on 40,000 performances last year. Using these race reports from across the nation, Young has evolved a system of Age Graded Tables that allow us to make several comparisons.

We can measure equivalent performances by different ages: a 6:03:9 mile by a 15-year-old male is equal to a 60-year-old's 8:59:7 mile. We can "grade" racers of the same age: for 35-year-old men running 15,000 meters, 65 minutes makes you a respectable citizen runner. Turn in a low 50s and you're a likely local winner. Burn it in under 46:00 and you'll be a submasters national champion.

As a runner ages, he can now understand his slowing times as an *improvement* if he stays ahead of the predicted average decline.

►An age handicap system.

The most important result of Young's statistics, however, may be the opportunity they create for truly accurate age handicapping. The NAHC was the first real test of the possibilities. Michigan City's Hal Higdon, an experienced race promoter and a former national masters champion, provided smooth organization and recruited Shorter as a draw.

Young worked out a handicap system for the 15 kilometer distance. The senior competitor, 71-year-old Bradford Cossell, would start first with progressively younger runners following according to a time handicap computed for each age from 71 down to 29, the peak year for distance runners and, by chance, Frank Shorter's current age.

Since the race was conceived with the over-30 athlete in mind, all those 29 or under, including some preteens, would start from scratch with Frank, 24 minutes and 17 seconds after Cossell.

Handicapping the female entrants posed a problem, Young explained, be-

cause there was not yet enough data to construct valid tables. Men still outnumber women in the sport 20:1, but the gap is narrowing and Young hopes soon to handicap for sex as well as age. For the NAHC, women were asked to add 16 years to their actual age to find their starting time, a solution Young conceded was based as much on "intuitive feeling" as on science.

Whatever the limits of its current design, the race seemed to please everyone. The top older runners welcomed a fair shot at the world's best man. Novices like myself were simply happy to be part of it all. And gold medalist Frank Shorter said the system gave him a kick because it was easier and more exciting to come from behind.

Shorter, who hasn't had to overtake many racers in the past eight years, was given the chance to stride past hundreds in Michigan City. After dispensing with me in the shadow of the starting gate, he rolled by a host of those who are the foundation of the sport in which he excels: a coronary care nurse in her second race, a 48-year-old executive from Pittsburgh, a homemaker of 32 who two weeks before had completed her first marathon, and her husband, who had confessed the night before, "It's scary to think of, you know, nine miles!"

Eventually he passed 41-year-old Mary Czarapata of Wisconsin, who would be the first woman to finish, and race director Hal Higdon, whose 52:27 earned him 4th place over all.

►70-year-old winner.

But Frank didn't catch his friend John Archer, who was second, or 70-year-old marvel Ray Sears of Shelbyville, Ind., who won for us all with a remarkable time of 64:23.

Shorter was jovial in defeat. "Back to the drawing boards for Ken Young," he quipped. "To win today I would have had to break the world record for 10,000 meters and keep on going!" But he, like the rest of us, thought a new and more democratic form of road racing may have been born in this modest event in the heart of the heart of the country.

"You gotta learn to lose, too," Frank Shorter had told us. Walking back down the last 500 meters of the course with 71-year-old Bradford Cossell, cheering later finishers home and laughing at the torrential rain that had soaked most of us for the final two miles, one understood there were no losers here.

Jack Russell lives in Detroit and is helping co-ordinate *In These Times'* sports coverage. Comments and contributions are welcome and should be sent to *In These Times*.

Marquette's McGuire bows out with a big win

For the last 13 years Al McGuire has been one of the most colorful and controversial figures in intercollegiate basketball. A product of the New York city schoolyards in an era when Irish and Jewish players dominated the game, McGuire was one of the first major college coaches to see that the best basketball in the country was being played in black neighborhoods and to concentrate his recruiting on players from the inner city.

With only a limited budget at his disposal, McGuire was able to attract a steady stream of great players to Marquette and turn the school into a national basketball power.

Unlike other coaches who built their reputation on black athletes, however, McGuire protected his players. He kept the number of scholarship athletes on his team small enough so that all of them would play, built them up in the press so that they received national publicity and kept close tabs on their classroom performance to make sure that they received

Unlike other coaches who built their reputations on black athletes, McGuire protected his players.

their degrees even if they left school early to join the pros.

Although harsh and authoritarian in his coaching style, McGuire let his athletes play with the intensity and combativeness that was the trademark of ghetto ball and encouraged them to express themselves on and off the court. In a typical Marquette game, McGuire yelled at his players, his players yelled back at him, and they both yelled at the refs.

His teams had a rough, contentious quality, that offended some of his fellow coaches, but they almost always ended up in the top ten in the nation—without depending on corrupt recruiting practices.

Over the years, Al McGuire built up an honorable reputation among inner city

ball players. In the schoolyards of New York and Chicago. Marquette was known as a good school to go to if you wanted training for the pros, a place where you would be treated fairly if you were willing to work hard, where you were allowed, even encouraged, to "be yourself." Each year, McGuire only went after a small number of high school prospects, but he usually succeeded in signing the players he contacted.

This year, Al McGuire finally achieved the goal that had escaped him throughout the years—the national championship. Only a few months after he announced that this would be his last season as a coach his Marquette team defeated North Carolina to win the NCAA title.

Significantly, the team that gave Marquette the most trouble in the tournament was the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, a school with a miniscule recruiting budget and a starting team of five black athletes who were unheralded and unknown. Marquette won its semi-final game against Charlotte 51-49, but after this tense contest, the final was an anticlimax. Marquette easily wore down the disciplined North Carolina with a pressing defense and superior rebounding and shot-blocking, pulling away to win 67-59.

In the last moments of the game Al McGuire sat on the bench with tears streaming down his face, overcome with emotion at what he and his players had achieved. It was a fitting conclusion to the career of a man who, in the corrupt, competitive world of college sports, had still managed to preserve his humanity, had been able to "do right."

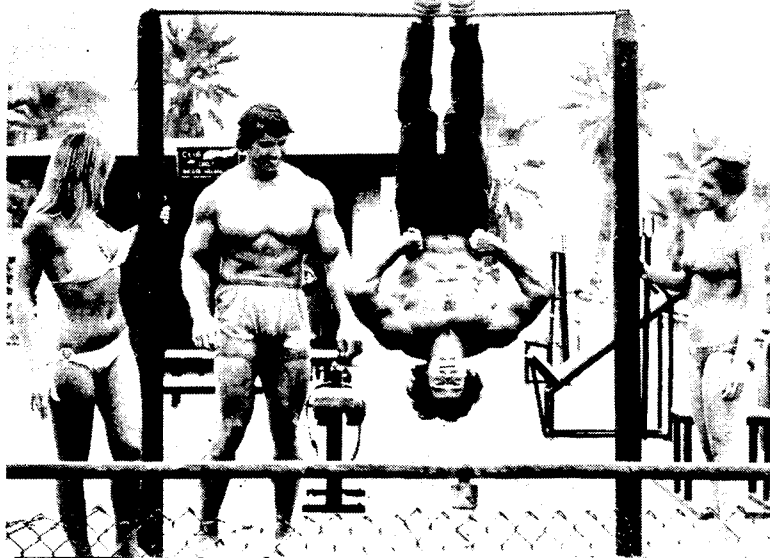
—Mark Naison

Mark Naison lives in Brooklyn and helps coordinate sports coverage for *In These Times*.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Schwarzenegger claims that the agony that goes into his own creation reaps a mighty ecstasy. "When I'm pumping, I'm in heaven," he says. In fact, the sensual rewards of his profession are so great that he feels like he's "coming all the time."



Passionate pumping of iron, a major sport in muscle-flick

PUMPING IRON

Starring Arnold Schwarzenegger
Conceived by George Butler
Distributed by Cinema 5

Spinoza was the first one to put forth the idea that something could be both cause and effect—but he was talking about the universe.

On a smaller scale, Arnold Schwarzenegger, six-time winner of the "Mr. Olympia" title, claims that he views his body as "a piece of sculpture;" the artist being none other than Guess Who. In order to whip himself into shape, which means possessing a set of muscles whose worth is based on symmetry and clarity (including 32 inch arms), Arnie undergoes a series of tortures at the gym. From the look on his face, and those of his fellow body-builders, lifting weights and working out isn't as much fun as it could be.

Schwarzenegger claims that the agony that goes into his own creation reaps a mighty ecstasy. "When I'm pumping, I'm in heaven," he says. In fact, the sensual rewards of his profession are so great that he feels like he's "coming all the time." But a longer look at the champ reveals that he is very likely the type of person who doesn't know whether he's coming or going.

Schwarzenegger displays a consistent, casual contempt for the other contenders, using "psychology" and bullying techniques to destroy their confidence and push them further down the ranks of body-building. His smug confidence is so overwhelming it's as if he's already read the end of the script.

As a documentary, *Pumping Iron* suffers because of the painful, on-camera self-consciousness of its subjects, Arnold, being a fledgling actor as well as a kinetic sculptor, is reasonably relaxed, but his competitors in the Mr. Olympia contest are compelled to try very hard not to look like assholes. Mostly they fail. Their appearances are as awkward and contrived as rehearsed home movies. Outstanding in this category is the father of one Lou Franco. Louie is none too bright, but smart enough to keep his mouth shut. Not so the old man, who has an endless supply of rehearsed speeches of the "win one for the gripper" variety, obviously delivered for the sake of you-

fans-out-there.

Throughout the Film, Schwarzenegger throws in references to "girls" and "girlfriends," so there should be no question as to the healthy straightness of his sexual orientation. Body-building is one sport that is rumored to attract more than your usual number of homosexuals. That may well be, but Arnie ain't one of 'em, and he's telling you so.

So what kind of people get into body-building, and why do they endure the strenuous training for five glorious minutes of standing in their shorts on a pedestal? Unlike other "sports," there is no game to body-building. It most closely resembles female beauty pageants, and no one ever called being "Miss America" a sport.

A hint at explanation is offered by probing into the childhoods of some of the main contestants, a bunch of scrawny, bespectacled,

unpopular bozos—yup, your 90-pound weakling types! Now they can kick the sand in anybody's face. Girls (or boys) were also surely a part of the initial motivation. But by the time they get to the point of worrying about the symmetry of their deltoids, such thoughts seem to be far from their minds. As a group, the body-builders seem less macho than the average athlete.

And what about the spectators? Are they a slaving crowd of voyeuristic sex maniacs? Not really. No more so than your typical football fan.

"People may think it's weird to be a body-builder," Arnold admits, "but is it any more ridiculous than trying to break a speed record, going around in a sportscar?"

—Pat Hertel

Pat Hertel is a free-lance journalist who lives in Chicago.

Two lyrical ladies with razors up their sleeves

DANCER WITH BRUISED KNEES

By Kate and Anna McGarrigle
Warner Brothers

Kate and Anna McGarrigle are two dear, smiling French-Canadian ladies who have skilled, fragile voices and razors hidden up their sleeves.

The harmonies of "Southern Boys" are intricate. The song itself might be seen as an update of the Beach Boys' "California Girls." But the lyrics slip the stinging poison in:

*Southern boys are warm and lovely,
They speak gently of their homes
And show you pictures of their folks.*

*Breath in your ear is soft as the cotton
Whether they're wooing
Or whispering the latest racist joke.*

A song like "First Born" describes the love given to new life, *the family's the oyster you're the pearl* but the tender mood is suddenly broken by the observation that *some of them will make it some of them won't.*

This understanding is not a pose, but a state of mind.

The album's title cut compares a love affair to a duet of dancers. Love ends when the man can no longer be trusted to catch the woman on her descent from a breathless leap. Passion is replaced by suspicion, signaling the end. Love and death are not seen as synonymous, but they still exist together in the harmonious voices of the musicians.

By way of asserting their

strength and independence, the McGarrigles sing three of *Dancer's* cuts in French. No way to crack the American popular market but the songs are certainly not throwaways. Two are rearranged traditionals. "Blanche Neige" tells the story of a woman who feigns death so well (to save herself from dishonor) that she is buried alive. In "Perrine Etait Servante," a boy hides in a pantry so the priest won't catch him with his girlfriend. He is forgotten and eaten by rats.

But these were practical people and they made a holy water fount out of his skull and candle sticks of his leg bones.

This lyricism of voice and music, contradicted by cynicism, creates a duality that may repel potential listeners, which would be their loss.

If the themes of these songs are not exactly upbeat, the arrangements are crisp, the harmonies spare and beautiful. The McGarrigles write, sing, play a number of instruments (piano, organ, button accordion, recorder, banjo), and their choice of back-up is superb.

The sisters McGarrigle sing of things they want to do or see or that they observe. Without self-indulgence or mock piety, they project a mood, tone and voice completely free of compromise.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

BOOKS

Mental health for the managerial class?

THE GAMESMAN: The New Corporate Leaders

By Michael Maccoby
Simon & Schuster, 1976, \$8.95

Michael Maccoby has managed to write a book describing the social character of 250 corporate managers and the relationship between them, their companies and the "system" without once mentioning that awful word—capitalism.

This failure is significant. Maccoby's inability to deal with the powerful dynamics of monopoly capitalism leads him to underestimate the consequences of corporate actions and to speculate naively about managers reforming themselves and bringing about a new, humane society.

First, his findings: through lengthy interviews, Rorschach and dream analyses, Maccoby (a psychoanalyst with a background in social research) concludes that a new corporate type has risen to prominence in high technology corporations. The gamesman has replaced the jungle fighter of the late 19th century and the

company man of the 1950s. His (96 percent of the executives interviewed are male) combination of flexibility, leadership, cooperation and aggressiveness is necessary for service in the fast moving changeable environment of electronics, military/aerospace and data-processing industries.

Yet the gamesman is personally flawed. "Underdeveloped," he lives detached from his emotions: "Corporate life did not stimulate compassion or idealism." He is unwilling to take responsibility for the consequences of his own and his corporation's activities: "No one we interviewed ever stopped working on something because it was socially harmful." Maccoby would have had more to criticize if he had further pursued the results of corporate behavior, but he ignores imperialism, exploitation, support for apartheid and a myriad of other aspects of modern capitalism.

Through numerous examples including a lengthy portrait of one individual gamesman, Maccoby displays a keen insight into

the relationship between the demands of hierarchical, immoral corporation, the competitive processes of executive mobility and the human pathology that results. At times he places his analysis in broad perspective: "Given our socioeconomic system, with its stimulation of greed, its orientation to control and predictability, its valuation of power and prestige above justice and creative human development, these fair-minded gamesmen may be as good as we can expect from corporate leaders."

If the logic of Maccoby's argument seems to cry out for a new system, a just system where "fair-minded" leaders might engage in different behaviors, the author heeds a different call. He hopes for a more humane protagonist, one "who develops his heart as well as his head and who could become an example for leadership in a changing society where the goal is economic democracy and the humanization of technology."

It is as if Maccoby hadn't read his own book. The dynamic be-

tween structure and personality has fizzled, and we are left with simplistic wishful thinking from a sensitive and gifted investigator who has shown us the limits of capitalism for managerial health.

Instead of concluding, "If these be our successes then the system has failed," Maccoby has given us an updated version of William H. Whyte's (1956) *The Organization Man*. A man with problems, yes, but ones that he and the company can work out. Not surprisingly, Whyte's magazine, *Fortune*, has published an article excerpted from Maccoby's book.

Presumably, Maccoby-influenced business school students on their way to IBM and Raytheon will now strive to be humanizing agents of social change. Well, neither the Shah nor David Rockefeller need worry.

—Maynard Seider

Maynard Seider is a sociologist presently living in Massachusetts, who reviews books regularly for *In These Times*.

RECORDS

Musical collective opposes jazz clubs' "cockroach capitalism"

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
By the Revolutionary Ensemble
Horizon (A&M) Records

While the Revolutionary Ensemble was setting up for a college gig in Springfield, Illinois, recently Leroy Jenkins (violinist) said he was bothered by music coming over the loudspeaker in the hall. He didn't want to hear himself play. The other two members of the Ensemble agreed. Drummer Jerome Cooper and bassist Sirone don't like to hear their own records before a performance.

This is not due to a false sense of humility, but rather to the need to free themselves of the past in order to play totally in the present. It is this "right there" quality of their music that is indeed revolutionary.

The Ensemble is about a revolution of consciousness, but not in the "greening of America" sense. They seek to free people's minds from the clichés of the commercial music turned out by the American recording industry. They are artists, poets, seekers, visionaries and revolutionaries, aware of their cultural roots, and at the same time in the vanguard of the "new black music."

Their music represents a threat (albeit indirect) to a corporate state that would prefer that its cit-

izens be lobotomized by "muzak" rather than challenged by music. They have placed themselves in opposition to what Imamu Amiri Baraka has called the "cockroach capitalism" of the jazz club scene. Most of their public performances in New York City (their home base) are in artists' lofts rather than in the typical jazz clubs, to avoid a situation where customers are hustled in and out between stunted sets, and the music exists only to sell alcohol and turn a quick profit for the club owner.

The Ensemble's previous recordings have been on small, artist-controlled labels like Revolutionary Ensemble Records, India Navigation Records, Survival Records and Jazz Composer's Orchestra of America Records, which have provided them with artistic freedom but very little bread. Promotion, distribution

and marketing is so monopolized by the major record companies that small, independent outfits are in a one-down position for offering technical and financial support to the artists who record for them.

The Ensemble recently signed with Horizon Records, (a division of A&M) for what they say were largely dollars-and-cents reasons. In this case, however, they have not had to compromise their music. Horizon has allowed them complete artistic freedom, and the result is an excellent new album entitled "People's Republic (A&M—SP708).

Though the Ensemble's music has sometimes been described as "free jazz," the group's Chicago beginnings have rooted their music in the blues. (Both Leroy and Jerome hail from the Windy City.) As a result their music can at any time be colored with a



slashing blues edge or a crying blues moan.

It is important to note that the players view themselves as a "musical collective." Although pressured in the past to change the name of the group to a more commercial one or to push one man as the leader, they have stuck to their guns. They are a unit; no one person leads.

No matter how freely they improvise, they are a tight band. Tight, not in the sense of keeping a constant discoflavored backbeat to their sound, but because of their ability to follow and bounce off each other's musical ideas spontaneously. Their style permits each member of the trio to

improvise separately or collectively at the same time.

Getting back to that recent Springfield concert: as Leroy Jenkins finished setting up his equipment, his record was taken off and replaced with another. Hearing the familiar strains of Charlie Parker's "Hot House," he perked up, smiled, and left the stage whistling the tune.

A while later he and the other two members of the Revolutionary Ensemble came on stage and blew our collective mind.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky teaches "Jazz and Blues: Cultural Impact" at Sangamon State University in Springfield, Ill.



A New Magazine for the 70'S

MOTHER JONES, Finally . . . A Magazine for the Rest of Us

We all grew up in the 60's—one way or another. And how different they were from the 50's. Or the 40's, or the 30's. We're the generation that got back in touch with our world, in the most basic ways. We rediscovered ourselves. Music opened us up, and took off. The Beatles. The Stones. Dylan.

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MOTHER JONES is a magazine for the rest of us. As veterans of the 60's we explore the alternatives of the 70's. We offer the best in criticism, encouragement, insight and analysis. We report on the successes and failures of community organizers and mass movements.

MOTHER JONES is tough. On polluters, politicians and profiteers. MOTHER JONES is fun. With cartoons and trivia. We bring you the best in cinema, music, books and art. We talk about sexuality, working together, living well on less, buying things that last and much more.

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like Kirkpatrick Sale, Barbara Garson, Roger Rapoport, Vivian Gornick, Max Apple, Eugene Genovese, Margaret Atwood, Herbert Kohl, Robert Lipsyte and dozens more.

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Rocky as Italian-American realism



Some aspects of the sleeper that have escaped the critics

During the last ten years an unprecedented number of Italian-Americans have risen to places of honor in Hollywood's film industry. Performers like Robert De Niro, Al Pacino, Talia Shire and Sylvester Stallone have been nominated for acting awards. Francis Ford Coppola and Martin Scorsese have been nominated for the directing award. Coppola won it in 1974 for his work in *Godfather II* and won the best screenplay award the same year.

And three times in five years the Oscar for the year's best picture has gone to a film by and about Italian-Americans—in 1972 and 1974 to *Godfathers I* and *II*, and this year to Sylvester Stallone's *Rocky*.

Unlike their predecessors of earlier film eras, these contemporary Italian-American artists have steered clear of the stereotypes of ethnic American and have instead created on film powerful images of an authentic collective experience. *Rocky* is an extension of the vision of the urban inferno in the *Godfathers*, *Mean Streets* and *Taxi Driver*. It pierces the surfaces of working class life in an ethnic ghetto and exposes the spiritual poverty of a community in decline.

►Not the usual "ghetto."

Rocky's Philadelphia neighborhood is not a ghetto in the way most middle-class people understand the term. Its row houses are too neat and prosperous; its employment statistics too high. It wears a face of neighborliness. But far as it is from the burnt-out horror of the South Bronx, it is even farther from the affluence of what Americans imagine as a typical, good-but-modest style of life.

Garbage rustles in the streets. Young toughs hang out on the corners. The periodic rumble of elevated trains breaks the quiet. The camera penetrates behind spring doors to disclose cramped living rooms in which people live lives that are a broken reflection of the American Dream, or behind factory gates to reveal the monotony and despair of industrial labor.

The mainstays of Italian-American communities of the past—church, family and rituals of food—are reduced to mere vestiges of what they once were. The church is present as statuary, rather than as spiritual force. And most significantly, there are no families in *Rocky*. There is no parental eye watching over the kids on the corner, no aproned mama tending the pot in the kitchen.

Rocky lives alone, eating out of cans, jars and packages. Pauly and his sister Adrian live together in a bondage of emotional debt. In place of a culture that gathered the generations to celebrate around the holiday table, we have Pauly throwing Thanksgiving turkey into the alley in a gesture of unmuted violence.

►Violence under the surface.

Violence lies just under the repressive surface of all the lives in the film. It flares suddenly and vents itself on innocent objects or individuals unable to redress their grievances. Yet none of the characters is violent by nature. The lives they lead—Pauly, shivering in his icebox; Adrian, cleaning cat cages in a pet shop; Rocky shaking down forklift operators for a living and boxing on the side—breed unarticulated anger and frustration.

There is no enemy, no legitimate tar-

get on which to vent the anger. Unlike the blacks, for whom the gap between America's promise and its practice, is all too clear, the *Rockys* have only begun to sense that they have been assigned the low rungs of the ladder by those who control the power structure.

Stallone's portrayal of the character he conceived is reminiscent of Anthony Quinn's performance in the Italian film *La Strada*. Both are men whose physical prowess is extraordinary and whose powers of expression are stunted. Both are aliens within society, and their inability to translate feelings into speech reflects this. *Rocky's* painful inarticulateness is a measure of his incomplete assimilation into the American main stream. But he has also lost his ancestral tongue. He is a man without a language.

►Realignment of the '60s.

Rocky counters the myth of working-class racism. It is the first film to suggest the complexity of the realignments wrought by the '60s. In the decrepit neighborhood gym where black and white together pound, punch and spar, a confraternity of brawn is united in the hope of the big chance that will magically transform nobodies into somebodies. *Rocky* defends Creed from the slurs of his tavern cronies; for him the black Creed is the Champ. Reviewers have chosen to ignore this aspect of the film as well as its pointed criticism of how the media continue to perpetuate traditional ethnic stereotypes.

Rocky's ethnicity is exploited and distorted as a saleable commodity. The hype used to promote the bout between *Rocky* and Creed plays on suggestions of physical and sexual prowess that have been identified with Italian-American men. The media—represented by a black woman reporter—focuses on the image of the "Italian Stallion" flailing a raw beef carcass, with close-ups of his bloodied fists. It is the old juxtaposition of blood and brawn that has served through decades of gangster films and police dramas.

But the *Rocky* the audience knows and sympathizes with is gentle and sexually innocent. Stallone's characterization allows us to perceive the distance between the man and the media-created image. A sense of privacy—the residue of a culture where public and private spheres were sharply demarcated—preserves him from the indignity of the consenting clown.

Creed, on the other hand, succumbs to the media's appetite for stereotypes even while he is exploiting the hype for his own ends. The Champ and a hard-nosed businessman with a keen eye for publicity, Creed chooses the marketable image of a Bicentennial "nigger"—a vaudeville Uncle Sam in blackface. Together, *Rocky* and Creed enact for America its favorite stereotypical scenario.

In the last sequence the two fighters symbolize the powerlessness of individuals caught in a struggle whose outcome is determined somewhere else. The spectacle of black and working-class white as living punching bags beating each other bloody under the silver-haired eminence of the white promoter is a potent image of urban America, where the least fortunate scramble for the debris others have left behind.

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